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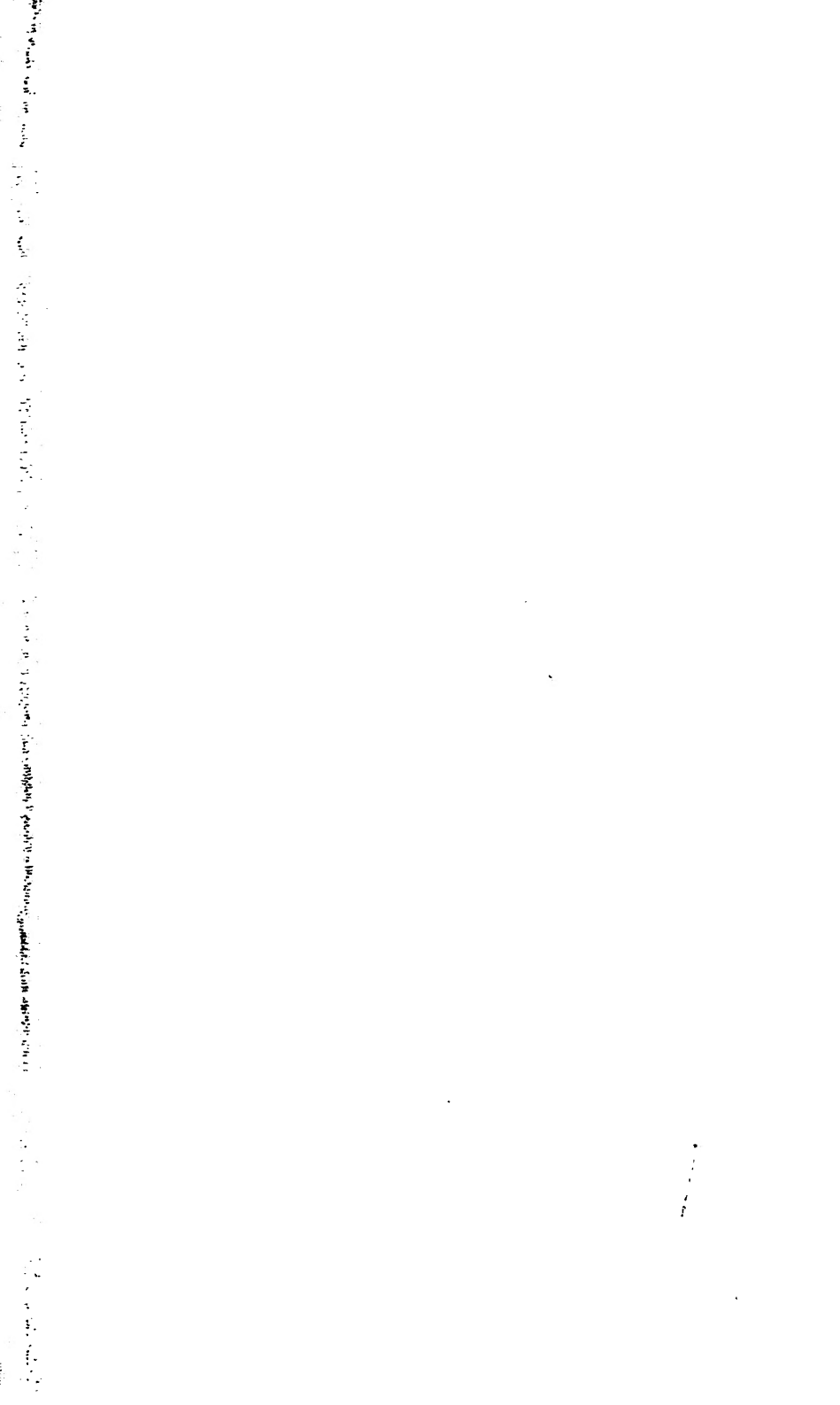
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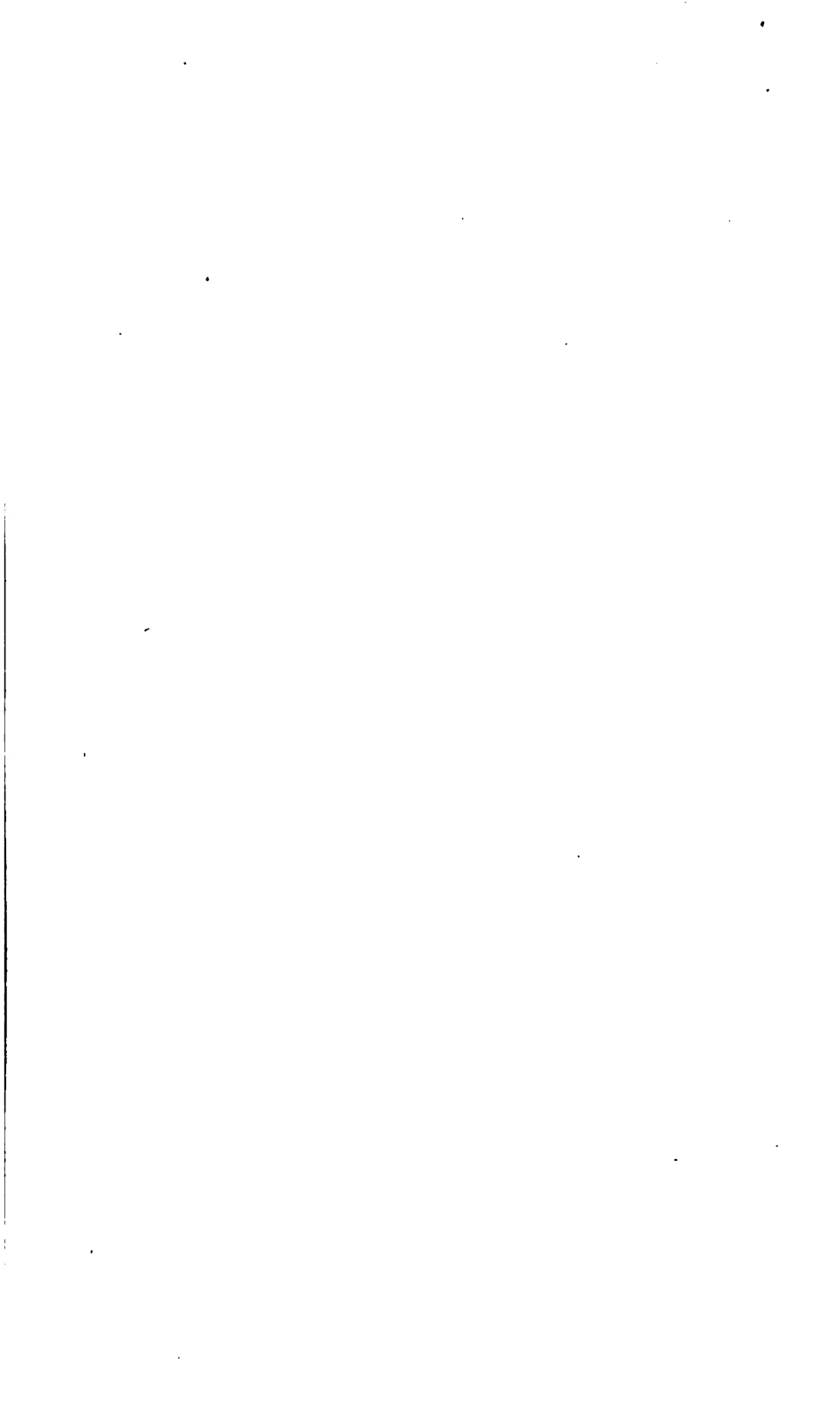
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^{to}
Wm. Howitt Esq

I send with kind regards my best
wishes
R.D.S.

THE
DIVINE DRAMA

OF

HISTORY AND CIVILISATION.

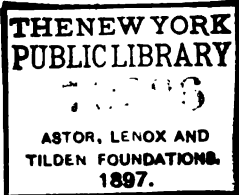
THE
DIVINE DRAMA
OF
HISTORY AND CIVILISATION.

BY THE
REV. JAMES SMITH, M.A.

LONDON:
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.

1854.

J. C.



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AND

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Of these we believe there are very few, but as printers are men, the reader may expect to find one or two typographical errors. The word "doctrinal" he will find in page 22 without its final *l*, and the word Epicurean, top of page 153, in the form of Epicurean—Laocoon, in page 113, has taken the form of Laacoon, and Phidias of Phideas, page 470; and Acherusian of Acherusean, page 44; and there may be a few more of like sort which we forget or have not perceived. But of all except the first two the author willingly takes the blame.

THE DIVINE DRAMA,

ETC.

PROLOGUE FIRST.

THE OBJECT OF THIS BOOK.

THE design of this book is, with old materials, to throw a new and permanent ray of light upon the whole history of man. It is called the Divine Drama, because it is an outline of the progress of human society, in such methodical form as to give it the likeness of a magnificent providential Drama, the archetype of the inferior drama which human genius has constructed, and the source from which it has unconsciously derived its inspiration. This dramatic arrangement of history illustrates the principles on which the science of historical analogy is based ; it exemplifies it in its greatest and its leading features ; and presents its facts like strata of rocks in superincumbent position—so indelibly fixed upon the records of ages, that every individual may study the subject in confidence that what he studies is as truly a system of divine adjustment as botany, zoology, geology, or astronomy.

This has not heretofore been done with history. Some attempts have been made in what have been called philosophies of history to discover and reveal the features of a plan, but they have never assumed the dramatic form and character ; and without this form they are atmospheres of doctrine—disembodied spirits, which may refresh and exhilarate like the breeze, delight like the sweets of the gentle perfume, inspire, and instruct, and cultivate the heart, as well as enlighten the understanding, but for want of a point cannot write their lessons on the tablets of the memory in everlasting impressions.

The Divine Drama is a definite form and everlasting record. It is geology carried upwards and onwards into human life and society ; no longer writing on rocks, and beds of earth, and fossil remains of organised beings, but on men and manners, on cities and nations, on political and religious institutions, and leaving its clear and artistic outlines in the epochs and the eras of historical development.

The general contour of the Divine Drama this book is written to delineate. Venturing not upon the minor details, the pencilling and the colouring of minute peculiarities, it sketches only, and marks the great and the leading features, content to leave to a keener eye, and a deeper inspiration, those delicate characteristics of every succeeding act and scene revealed in the extant monuments of time.

PROLOGUE SECOND.

SHOWING THE PROVIDENTIAL CHARACTER AND FIVEFOLD ASPECT
OF THE ORDINARY DRAMA.

MUSIC has laws, and so has poetry; and the drama is the poetry of history. It is a *beau ideal* of a special Providence. It is a plan, an arrangement of events, in such a manner as to effect a high moral purpose. Every drama may not have this moral and religious object; but it is so far defective in that it has not. Without it a work of dramatic art is not only worthless, but pernicious. A true drama is an artistic model of a Providence within a limited sphere of action. So inseparably connected is this idea of superhuman arrangement with the principle of the drama, that even an atheistic poet instinctively weaves the divine and the human together in the action of his poem, as the weaver complicates the web and the woof. An unseen power is ever supposed to control and adapt, restrain and regulate the events as well as the actions, the words and thoughts, of the parties engaged; and though the co-operation of human art and passion is deeply involved, and a perfect freedom of thought and con-

duct is apparent throughout, yet the spectator of the play never fails to expect some unforeseen and surprising result as the providential *dénouement* of the complicated series of interesting events. This inevitable peculiarity of every acting drama, of any value whatever, consecrates dramatic art by investing it with a sacred character, and cannot fail to remind the intelligent reader of its religious origin and the exalted spirit of its earliest forms, as they came forth fledged and winged for heavenward flight from the rapt imaginations of Æschylus and Sophocles.

The divine humanity of the acting drama is an artistic necessity. The artist must cultivate it. The art expires without it. It is to the art of dramatic composition what lineal perspective is to drawing, and aerial perspective to painting; what modulation is to music, and imagery to poetry.

In giving expression to this primordial faith of a local and particular Providence, dramatic genius has discovered or adopted certain laws, which have become established like the musical scale, but the fixture of which appears to be arbitrary. The division of a drama into acts is apparently optional. There are dramas of one act, of two, three, and five acts. But the dramas of one and two acts are comic pieces of an inferior character. The dramas of three acts are operas or musical compositions. All dramas of the highest rank invariably take the

form of five-act dramas ; and Horace's rule is still religiously attended to :

*Neve minor, neu sit quinto productior actu
Fabula, quæ posci vult, et spectata reponi.*

The critics have not yet informed us why. Neither perhaps can the artist himself tell why he is compelled to invest his drama with a providential character ; or perhaps he never thinks of it at all, but merely yields to the requirements of society or the impulse of that divine necessity of genius which reveals in mystery the secrets of Nature long before they are discovered and delineated by the elaborate investigations of critical science. The collective inspirations of genius are divine inspiration : they are the revelation from God to man of the laws of order and beauty. The individual artist errs and disobeys and is punished for disobedience ; but the collective body of artists in succession never fail to discover and establish, for future guidance, certain laws of propriety which must not be violated. Who can amend the long-established rules of Greek architecture ? Who can improve upon the Gothic ideal temple ? He only, perhaps, who is presumptive enough to imagine a better construction of the human form, or a better adaptation of the limbs of a horse for strength and velocity. Artistic discoveries of laws and rules are science ; and the laws of science are unchangeable. Is the fivefold character of the legitimate drama one of these laws ?

Agassiz, one of the most eminent comparative anatomists of the day, has remarked that the vertebrated or higher orders of animals, never have more than four organs of progression, which, with the head, which is indispensable to the four, make the number five a natural fixed representative of progressive action. Now, progressive action is life, it is history, it is Providence. Is it not then very natural to suppose that Providence, the great archetype and the soul of the acting drama, should especially reveal itself to man in human society in a fivefold capacity? God has given to man five senses for a fivefold sphere of action. He has given him five fingers for a fivefold instrument of industrial and artistic action, and five toes for a fivefold instrument of progressive action. He has given him a head and four extremities, as the primary actors of his corporeal system. Not without a reason; and man being the noblest representative of the Divine Creative Agent, we should naturally give the precedence to the number five in the sphere of collective, social, and political progress, were it even superseded by some other number in the construction of irrational vertebrated animals. But when we find that all the superior orders of rational and irrational animals are constructed upon this fivefold principle, we are compelled to admit, that, in the sphere of action, the number five must take the precedence as the fittest representative of providential movement. Whether

then the dramatic authors had a reason or not for their five acts, they have hit upon the right number by the inspiration of genius ; and it would be hard to persuade either the learned or the unlearned to repeal the law of established usage. The mysterious agency of that recondite spirit of analogy, which works in every thinking mind and every feeling soul, but especially in those whose natures are rendered supereminently sensitive by the study of the laws of order and beauty, would put its veto on the change, and sternly recal the innovator to his allegiance, or teach him, by discomfiture, the folly and presumption of attempting, with his own ephemeral whim, to supersede a divine arrangement.

That mystic spirit that inspired the dramatic poet, unconscious of a reason, to characterise his model of a special Providence by a fivefold unity, has also breathed its kindred prepossessions in favour of this numerical representative of action, in that most perfect of all existing types of elegant and graceful motion, the quadrille. It is a five-act drama, consisting, invariably, of five figures, and five only. Who suggested this ? What potent spirit guided the raptured eye to this fatal number, and fixed it there so entranced and enchanted, that, throughout the whole fashionable world of civilised Christendom, a quadrille in less or more than five parts would be accounted a heresy ? There is no reason, but that common

inspiration, that instinctive sense of harmonic arrangement and completeness, that satisfies the feelings even before it has addressed or awakened the understanding. The number is consecrated to action by nature—consecrated in our bodies, consecrated in our senses—and elevated thence by transcendental sublimation into our feelings and understandings, from which, as from the spring of spiritual life, it bubbles out into the sphere of activity, like the river of God in the paradise of Eden, which parted into four streams, as the fingers from the thumb, and watered the scene of man's primitive existence.

Early did men feel this, and early did the passive spirit of poetry and fable yield to the impulse of its holy inspiration. Students of Nature, and worshipping the forms in which Nature's God manifested his wisdom, they easily imbibed a sacred reverence for numbers, and thus we find, that from immemorial antiquity, four became the number of the series of ages, and the fifth the consummation of the attributes of all. The Gentile poets sang of the fifth, the *Regna Saturnia*, and the Jewish prophets took up the *refrain*, and detailed the glories of the Redeemer's kingdom that succeeds the four. The fifth is the dominant in music; and it is neither a local nor a sectarian idea in history or mythology. It is a poetic inspiration, a dramatic division of the course of time, universally known, familiar to all ages of the world, but

especially to those which are most impressible to the occult movements of mystic Nature, undisturbed by the doubts of a suspecting philosophy and the cavilling propensities of the schools of criticism.

This book is intended to justify these pencillings of light from the sunbeams of the mystic and recondite spirit, that

"breathes through all life, extends through all extent,"

and to reveal the everlasting principles of a science which will occupy, henceforth, minds innumerable, to finish it in detail, with those microscopic eyes which are seldom accorded to the rough pioneer who elaborate the outline of a new idea.

PROLOGUE THIRD.

ILLUSTRATING THE SCENICAL HARMONY OF A DRAMA AND THE
SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS FIVE PARTS.

HAVING discovered the numerical principle of dramatic action in the individual body, and the reason for expecting the same numerical principle in the collective body of humanity, we naturally look for this dramatic division in two different ways, geographically in space and historically in time. The one will constitute the scenery of the drama; the other its action. Every drama must have its scenery—scenery too in harmonious agreement with the passional and personal performance. The Comic Muse delights in incongruities. She introduces a love scene in an eel-pie shop and makes a traveller sing a musical burlesque to the great Sphinx of Egypt, or the Statues of Memnon on the Plain of Goorna: her parson reads the burial service at a wedding, and her jester bandies quips and cranks with a flash of lightning. Discord, or contrast at least, is her element, and she not unfrequently produces her effects by deliberate violation of the laws of propriety. Not so the Tragic Muse:

her scene is all in harmony with the spirit of the performers. With a deed of terror she makes the elements mourn: the thunder roars, the waves rage, the wind soughs, and the owl screeches in the dark night. Majesty walks in palaces or forests, amid the grandeur and magnificence of nature or art; love nestles in gardens amid fragrant perfumes, brilliant flowers and vigorous evergreens, with bindweed or mistletoe twining the sturdy trunks, and trellices laden with the riches of the vine; melancholy pines under weeping willows; and rapine elaborates its heartless machinations amid ruinous heaps of dismantled towers, unroofed cottages, rugged precipices, and deserted gardens. All is one. The mystic spirit of the scene is omnipresent throughout. The picture is merely the hieroglyph that reveals the soul of the speaker: it is the background of the portrait that relieves the figure. The true artist anxiously studies it. Even a broken bough will tell a tale with voiceless eloquence; and a stone without moss, on which the wanderer sits, is a story without words, which the heart apprehends in the winking of an eyelid.

The scenery is the space, the events and the persons are the time; and here, too, the harmony of dramatic arrangement is indispensable. The characters must ever be appropriate for the action. The rough are not selected for elegant and gentle deeds, nor the gentle for works of cruelty and violence. The characters change as the action changes,

and the simple or the artful, the selfish or the generous, are successively introduced as the plot thickens and their presence is demanded. Between an individual and a universal drama, however, there is this difference: that whereas individuals are the heroes and *dramatis personæ* of the one, of the other the heroes and the characters are nations and classes. The one is the drama of individual, the other of collective, man; the one is of human construction, the other is divine.

Now, what is the natural development of either of these two forms? Nature teaches us that all development of any value to man is from worse to better; to reward or retribution. The hero may die, but he dies gloriously; the villain must suffer, and be execrated also. Retribution to the criminal is demanded by the moral sense, and that is the moral to which tragedy tends, even when the destiny of the good is deplorable. A dark fate impends over virtue in the doleful accessories of the tragic drama; but even when hope refuses to lend a sunbeam of comfort from the social world, it gleams from heaven in the faith of the sufferer. The development is upwards and onwards, either socially and domestically, or morally and religiously; or the artist has forgotten his mission, and his effort is a failure. A dramatic providence, without a gradual development from a worse to a better, in one sense or other, is a dramatic abortion—a Juggernaut, a Moloch, a Belial, or other

monster, which can only be worshipped by the depraved taste, and be lost amid the multitude of them that perish.

What, then, is this development? In the first place a position is described that presents a difficulty; for without the difficulty there is no interest to be excited. In the second place, an effort is to be made to get out of this difficulty. The effort is accompanied with new difficulties. In the third place, a hopeful scheme is devised on purpose to complete the effort. In the fourth place, the scheme fails, and the difficulties increase, and the plot thickens. In the fifth place, a great and almost unexpected deliverance or catastrophe occurs. This is the general character of a drama, more or less. And there is a natural reason for all these five peculiarities. The first is self-evident, the second seems equally so; but it is not so evident that the hopeful scheme of the third should be a failure. Why should it be a failure? Why not a gradual continuation of the effort in the second act to effect a deliverance? There is an admirable reason why this ought not to be, in the fact that the disappointment arising from a hopeful scheme of deliverance is one of the most universal, and at the same time, distressing features of that severe ordeal of moral discipline which characterises the providential government of the world. And it is an indispensable character of all moral teaching, and especially of dramatic teaching, that

it should reveal the agency of a higher power that watches over us and brings us deliverance when hope is lost after our utmost efforts, and that leads the guilty by a path of fancied security into the very catastrophe which he intended for others. The failure of the middle scheme is the preparation for man's extremity and God's opportunity ; and the *dénouement* is invariably an unexpected result, in which divine justice or mercy is revealed by a quick, a smart and a marvellous combination of simultaneous accidents which Heaven alone could overrule and fit so admirably in time and space.

It is by no means necessary that these leading ideas should be slavishly followed in any drama ; and perhaps in many they may not even be perceived. But it must be very evident to every one, that, if a drama is divided into five parts, like a deal board or a sheet of paper, without any regard to special characteristics, it will not be a drama of five acts, but a drama of one act divided into five parts. Each act of a drama has its distinctive character, like the five fingers, the thumb being the first or fifth, and equal in power and interest to all the rest. The first, the third, and the fifth acts, like alternate notes in music, are naturally akin ; so also are the second and the fourth. The first is the statement of the problem ; the third is a false or defective attempt at solution ; the fifth is the true solution. In the first act of "Hamlet," a poem, which is generally regarded as

one of the most finished productions of the Tragic Muse, the *Ghost* reveals the murder, the retribution for which is the main subject of the play. In the second, *Hamlet's* madness commences, without any apparent object but that of deliverance from his usual society and personal habits, and the players are introduced to amuse him. In the third he concocts, with the aid of the players, a scheme for testing the truth of the story of the *Ghost*, and promoting the object on which his heart was now exclusively bent. It so far succeeds, that it satisfies his mind of the *Ghost's* veracity ; but it so far fails, in that he kills *Polonius* instead of the *King*. This only involves him and others in greater trouble and crime. Then follows, in the fourth, *Ophelia's* madness, caused by the twofold horrors of her father's death and her lover's derangement and blood-stained hands ; whilst the son of *Polonius* and the *King* contrive a scheme to kill *Hamlet* as if it were by accident. This fatal scheme is put in execution in the fifth ; but here the hand of Providence becomes visible. *Laertes* and *Hamlet* fall in their game at swords, and in rising exchange weapons. *Laertes'* sword was poisoned, and *Hamlet* was slightly wounded. Now *Laertes* is punctured with his own poisoned foil—"the woodcock is caught in his own springe"—and the *Queen* drinks the poisoned cup that was, unknown to her, prepared by the *King* for her son. The whole fatality being so far explained to

Hamlet, he stabs the *King* with the poisoned sword, and thus the providential judgment brings retribution on all by defeating the schemes of all. Had *Hamlet* killed the *King*, instead of *Polonius*, in the third act, the play would have ended without sufficient interest, the complication of misery resulting from the perpetration of one unnatural crime would not have been revealed. Another plunge into the dread abyss of guilt and wretchedness was indispensable to complete the *beau ideal* of a drama. The guilty must escape for a little while, and triumph; they must set their springes in hope of success; Providence must even seem to favour them, the more effectually to draw them into the snare which Divine justice has made for them out of the smaller traps which they have laid for others; and as an intervening act between the third and fifth is indispensable to reveal this deeper gulf of misery and crime, it follows that this is the natural characteristic of the fourth act, which ought ever to represent or to beget the greatest amount of confusion and wretchedness and hopelessness of all satisfactory adjustment which the drama contains.

A great failure or disappointment in a drama is indispensable to the interest of it. There may be many failures, it may be full of disappointments; but a prominent and a hopeless defeat in the zealous or the desperate efforts that are made for deliverance is the central pivot upon which

the drama divides itself into its two hemispheres. It is the bridge over which the feelings pass from a lower to a higher degree of excitement, and the natural position for this bridge or pivot is the third or middle act. A solution of the difficulty in this middle act would be premature, for then the two succeeding acts would be useless. The revelation in this act of the scheme by which the problem is to be finally solved, would anticipate the conclusion, and destroy the interest, and no surprise or satisfaction would be experienced with a sudden and unexpected termination in the fifth. And if no attempt at solution were made in any of the acts that preceded the fifth, it would be impossible to produce a greater depth of misery, or intricacy of confusion, and hopelessness, than was represented in the first; and as we have already seen that the third is the natural position for this abortive effort at deliverance, the law becomes plain and intelligible, and the reason for the five-act model becomes apparent to the understanding, independent altogether of the mystic inspiration by which dramatic genius was led to its adoption.

One other specimen of a distinguished tragedy will serve to illustrate the foregoing remarks. In the first act of "*Macbeth*," the *Witches* meet him and *Banquo*, and hail him king, and *Banquo* father of kings. This fires his ambition, and that of *Lady Macbeth*, and they resolve to murder

King Duncan, their guest. In the second act this is accomplished. In the third the pinnacle is gained ; but the idea of *Banquo's* good fortune is oppressive. The fear of this rival must be removed, and his murder is perpetrated. The scheme fails ; deeper sorrow and misery than ever are experienced. In the fourth act the *Witches* are consulted for comfort ; rebellion commences ; the plot thickens. In the fifth the Divine retribution is consummated.

This is very simple and natural. The two hemispheres of the play are well balanced on both sides of the third act. The pinnacle of delusive success is there reached, and there the fall commences. Now suppose the poet had commenced the rebellion in the third act, and worked it through two acts into the fifth without introducing the hopeful scheme of *Banquo's* death, by which the usurper and his wife expected to secure the kingdom to themselves and their offspring ; the consequence would have been a lingering and loitering train of monotonous rebellion, without an additional brand upon the culprit's head to arouse the indignation of the spectator, or exhibit the natural progress of crime in covering the guilt and evading the punishment of one unholy deed by the perpetration of another. Such a drama would be, in reality, only one of three acts—an illegitimate drama—a mere opera, or modern Roman drama ; for, though divided into five, its last three

acts would be only one, the original scheme of ambition being foiled immediately by the providential decree, without any deepening of the guilt or exaggeration of the folly of which it was the offspring. It is by this deepening of the interest and complication of the difficulties that the weakness of human wisdom is most effectually displayed in every well-constructed drama; and thus the third act is especially devoted to the most brilliant, hopeful, and passional manifestations of human wisdom, intrigue, or craft, without the apparent or final interposition of Heaven; whilst in the fifth or concluding act, where human wisdom would again be foiled, the heavens open, and the singular concurrence of unexpected events reveals the interposition of a special Providence,

PROLOGUE FOURTH.

SCENERY AND DRAMATIS PERSONÆ OF THE DIVINE DRAMA.

WE are now prepared with some of the vital and elemental principles of the drama, and to rise from the analysis of its minor to the contemplation of its major form—from the human to the divine; and in doing so we must first look for the five acts, the scenery and the *dramatis personæ*. The theatre in which the drama is performed is the world at large; the drama itself is the history of man and the development of humanity; the geographical earth is the stage, and the succession of ages the time.

But in an especial manner the great stage is the arena of civilisation which is the work of progressive development, and the limits of that stage are as definitely described as if they had been determined by a land surveyor. For the Western civilisation there can be no doubt that its history begins with the history of the Church in the nation of the Hebrews. Their political existence constitutes the first act. Other nations may have preceded them, and did precede them, but they have left no records and no institutions which we have trans-

planted. They exist in tradition, like submerged antiquities, antediluvian relics, or Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian hieroglyphs. To us they have transmitted no definite memorials; and if even such are buried, and henceforth dug up, they will appear too late in the theatre of civilisation to be entitled to hold any higher place than the preliminary preparation behind the curtain. Mount Sinai and Palestine therefore constitute the scenery of the first act; and the Hebrews, in their political and religious capacity, are the performers.

The direction of the performance is North-westward, like the movement of the sun in the heavens, from East to West, and the obliquity of the ecliptic in combination with it. In following this line, the next great people that left their impress on the civilisation of the world, are the Greeks. In their national capacity they laid the foundation of abstract philosophy, polite literature, and the fine arts. The region which the Greeks inhabited constitutes, therefore, the scenery of the second act, and the Greeks themselves are the performers. Next come the Romans, for the third act, and exhibiting the special characteristic of a third act, in a splendid human attempt to solve the problem and attain the consummation, and even apparently reaching the summit, like *Macbeth*; though the *Ghost* of the murdered victims and the rivalry of *Banquo* flit about the firmament and disturb its repose. Then come the Western continental

nations, or the empire dissolved into vernacular portions, centralised in France, and characterised by a chaos of doctrinal controversy and sanguinary struggles between the free and the absolute principles. And, last of all, comes a larger idea than that of nationality; namely, universality, the Atlantic and cosmopolitan era, centralised or commenced in the British Isles, as the opening scene of the fifth and final act of the Western Drama.

This is merely an outline of the Drama of Western civilisation. A clearer view of the performance and the scenery is the task we have undertaken. The Western nations are all included. But the direct line, the great river of civilisation from East to West, flows right through Greece, Italy, and France, from Palestine to England; thus distinguishing these five great cities, Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, and London, as the capitals of memorial civilisation. Five distinct and original missions belong to these great cities, in a manner so special, characteristic, and primordial, that each individually is not only the head, but the founder of one of the principal elements of Western society.

A similar division applies to the Eastern hemisphere, on the other side of "The Desert;" but, as that belongs to the mystic or deeply recondite aspect of the subject, it is not proposed to enter upon its analysis in this book. But the five great acts of the Eastern Drama are as definitely described on the map of the world as our own, and consist of

Chaldea, Persia, India (in which, as being the third act, the great Oriental scheme of Brahminism, the monarch of Eastern theology, arose) ; China as the fourth (which, like France in the West, is the great arena of philosophy in the East) ; and Japan, in which the Oriental system has attained its ultimate in the perfect despotism of law over emperors, nobles, and people, in a manner unparalleled in any other portion of the globe.

America is a new world altogether ; a young giant who bides his time. It belongs by relationship to the Pentologue or Drama of the Western World, but occupies a special position in the great Mundane Drama, and enacts a character which will be better described on a future occasion.

Here, then, we have the great theatre of the old world, divided into an Eastern and Western system, each consisting of five principal stages, in the line of its own career. But our attention is now to be especially directed to the Western hemisphere, or the *Orbis Romanus*, because that is the stage upon which the most brilliant of the two dramas has been performed. It may, however, be well in the first place to discover the reason why these two great hemispheric divisions exist. Why not one ? Because two are more perfect than one, as the representatives of the two sexes ; the bipolarity of universal nature ; its two motive powers, the positive and the negative. The ancients were early aware of this all-prevalent bipolarity, symbolised by sex. We are informed in Ptolemy's

Tetrabiblos, that the Oriental was considered masculine and the Occidental feminine. The Western, therefore, according to this analogy, is the feminine division of the drama—the collective woman, of whom it is said that her seed should bruise the Serpent's head. It is the sphere of intellectual light, the birthplace of the Word of God in all its acceptations, whether it be the Word theological, or the Word philosophical, scientific, or poetical. In the Levant the light has arisen, and it is only by Westward progression that it has increased ; “for, as the light riseth in the East, and shineth even to the West, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be.” Such is the analogical teaching of the greatest of masters, who did not fail to show us a brilliant example of that wisdom that looks for the revelation of the plan of Divine Providence in the analogies of Nature.

Poetry also, which belongs to the graduated scale of prological as well as logical revelation, which contains its higher and lower, and even its dissonant or discordant forms, like a musical scale, has long been familiar with that sexual analogy which represents the arts and the sciences as feminine. Painting and sculpture have borrowed this idea from their elder sister, and never fail to personify all of them by women ; and yet man is the chief cultivator of each ! Is this inconsistent ? No, indeed : it is pure inspiration and perfect poetry. Reason is feminine, because it brings forth by labour. Love is masculine, because it

brings forth by impulse without labour. The West is the reasoning sphere, and therefore, in the pure analogical language of poetry, which ever transcends the material, it is a feminine region. By the same rule of analogy, it represents liberty in contradistinction to law, or despotism, and therefore, in the gradual progress of civilisation, from East to West, the principle of liberty grows, and woman, its representative, also escapes from the bondage of man, thus travelling on to that fulness of time, when her curse will be removed, and the perfect, or at least correlative, equality of both sexes be proclaimed.

Beautiful is the whole plan, and admirably laid out by a skilful artist, and so perfect in its details, that, were a statesman presented with a map of the world, and requested to apportion it amongst a series of nations, representing a scale of progressive principles advancing from the limited to the unlimited, from the juvenile to the mature, he could not imagine an arrangement so analogically complete.

The entire history of man and society may be called the immemorial ; but this is the memorial drama which we are about to contemplate. It is the drama of civilisation, springing up amongst the chaos or immemorial usage of primitive times, and beginning with one family, as the representative of a higher order of unity, even as the human race at large may be said to have commenced with one man, who represented a physical or lower order

of unity. In other words, it is the historical drama, extending as far back into the vista of antiquity as the records of that long line of successive development, of which we are the terminus, will permit. The nation which represents that starting point of progression is the Jewish nation. All before that nation is lost. A few straggling traditions may survive, or monuments exist ; but these few traditions are either preserved in the literature of the Jews and Greeks, or in lately excavated relics of art which have been buried for ages, broken off like dead boughs, or sunk like roots, and occupying, therefore, no prominent place on the great historical arena. Their representatives also are utterly extinct, whilst the nations of the Jews and the Greeks not only exist in literature, and imbue the whole of Christian civilisation with their spirit, but they also exist in person, and live in hope of recovering the territorial possessions of their ancestors, and reappearing on the stage with greater brilliance than ever they displayed at any former period. There is no doubt, therefore, about the commencement of this memorial drama. The lettered and the unlettered are alike familiar with the great fact that the most ancient of all the literature of the Western world is that sacred Book, which is more universally diffused than any other, and which enjoys the distinction of being called by the name of The Book, as if there were no other book but itself.

THE PENTALOGUE;
OR,
THE DIVINE DRAMA
OF
WESTERN CIVILISATION.

ACT FIRST.—*The Hebrew Mission.*

SCENE FIRST.

THE ROCK AND THE SAND ; OR, THE LAWGIVER AND THE RABBI.

BEING now prepared for the first act or era of the Pentalogue, we shall follow the law of dramatic etiquette by introducing the scenery along with the performers.

As the Divine Drama is the development of a progress or elevation of the human race, from a lower to a higher position, it is in perfect analogy with this distinctive character, that it should commence its performance at the very foundations of the earth. No sooner, therefore, was the nation formed that was destined to begin the career of memorial civilisation, than it was ordered to retire into the desolate region of Arabia Petræa, amid the rugged cliffs, the dark-red sides, and hoary-

headed tops of Horeb and Sinai, mountains of red and white granite, and other primary rocks, representing the deepest substrata of the earth's crust. Here the foundations of the rising system were laid, amid fire and smoke, resembling the frightful mystery of the interior of the globe, of whose dread abysses geologists inform us, that they are caldrons, replenished with molten masses, cooling with time, and hardening on the surface with age, but vomiting occasionally their fused and disturbed ingredients, and thundering like Sinai when the law was proclaimed on the sides of the neighbouring mountain of Horeb. A more suitable scene could not have been selected. A cultivated plain would have been inconsistent with the harmony of Divine order : it would have represented an end instead of a beginning. The sand of the desert was not in discordance with the poetry of the landscape, for it is barren and desolate—a layer for vegetative soil to rest upon, but not the alimantal earth itself. Rock and sand, the lowest or the most remote from the nutritive condition of matter, and constituting therefore its primary or lifeless form, from which the principles of created life are evolved by the mysterious chemistry of creative wisdom, characterised the scenery of the hungry and thirsty desert, in which the drama of memorial civilisation commenced. So great was the barrenness of that “howling wilderness,” “wherein there was no water,” that

miracle alone could support the people ; and it is still a wonder, amongst divines and commentators, by what special means the cattle were fed. No mundane territory could better represent the beginning of a great providential movement, than these two forms of earth. The one is compact, and the other is loose ; in other words, they are absolute and free ; and these two principles of absolutism and freedom, law and liberty, law solid and law not solid, are the two elementary and opposite but alike indispensable elements of civilisation or human progress. Which is the eldest, rock or sand, no man can say. Geologists usually classify rocks as lower than sand ; for they form a surface on which it is deposited. But whether the rock was first produced from the sand or the sand from the rock no science can determine. They are convertible substances. Sand can be produced from any species of rock by the action of water, and rock, in return, can be reproduced from sand by the action of heat ; and this beginningless as well as endless process of production and distribution, of concretion and attrition, or dissolution, is continually going on, beneath and above the plane of the earth. But though these two substances are extreme opposites, they are alike fundamental and barren to man and every created thing, and well represent that awful and mysterious Being, in whose dread infinitude created beings can only find a few spots for existence, like

oases in the desert, or planets and suns in illimitable space.

Hence it is that, in primitive times, and in desert lands especially, you see the two primordial elements of society in rudest and most artless forms ; the absolute principle only ruling by fitful and occasional acts of violence, and not by steady and well-organised inquisition ; and the liberty, ranging wild and irregular, in constant fear of a sudden, unadmonished interruption. Of this latter condition no better type exists on the globe than that of the Arab—the most elementary race of intelligence within the arena of civilisation, and therefore, perhaps, the root, and occupying the source and well-spring of society, the interval between the Eastern and Western civilisations.* There is more of the arenaceous element in the Arab than in the Jew, for in the Jew it is repressed by the preponderating force of its opposite principle ; but both extremes are well represented in each, as indeed they must be more or less in all, especially, however, in primitive or elementary nations, who are unproductive in mind, and unprogressive in laws, in manners and customs. The rock and the sand are both represented in Judah, in its firm and stable

* The Eastern and Western hemispheres are parted by the intersection of two broad lines—the Equator of the Rainless Desert, which runs from the West of Africa to Tartary, and the Ecliptic of Civilisation, which runs from Japan to Britain and crosses the other at the Arabian Desert. The East, therefore, has the Desert on the North, and the West has it on the South.

institutions and its amazing dispersion, and Judah itself is a rock in comparison of the scattering of the tribes that are lost amongst the nations. But in all social economies the singular alliance between liberty and despotism in the Levantine East is deserving of serious reflection. There the principles of liberty and equality have only the iron hand of the despot to prevent their establishment ; there is no aristocratical medium, as with us—no genealogical pride of birth—no nobility, gentility, freedom or slavery, either to promote or prevent advancement. The blood of the slave is there as good as that of his master : and even now, as of old, the porter that sits at the king's gate, or the groom that rubs down and saddles his horse, may be elevated to-morrow to the rank of Grand Vizier, without any disparagement arising from his former condition. This is the most elementary form in which the two principles of absolutism and liberty can exist ; and out of this, as out of the desert of rock and sand, civilisation is elaborated, like a texture of cloth by the cross movement of the warp and the woof. But the process of weaving is carried to perfection in less primitive regions.

It is in the principle of liberty that mental activity resides ; it is the moving, the progressive element ; but without the aluminous cement that comes from the rock of an absolute principle, the liberty only becomes an unproductive, moving chaos. This absolute principle is the beginning of society,

as the rock is the basis of the nutritive earth, and therefore it is rather the rock than the moving sand or productive soil that we must look for in Israel, and only so much of the latter as are indispensable for a political existence. Liberty there is, as we shall see ; but law there is more, for it takes the precedence and becomes the foundation, and constitutes the idiocracy, of Israel's policy ; so much so that even the exercise of liberty is the forging of new chains and the increase of bondage. God is compared to the rock, his people to the sand. Divine Law is the rock, human opinion is its pulverisation—eternal correlatives.

All nations, in ancient times, had their sacred mysteries, and all are reported—with what amount of truth we know not—to have come from Egypt. "Zoroaster," says Bishop Warburton, in his "Divine Legation of Moses," "brought them thence into Persia ; Cadmus and Inachus, into Greece ; Orpheus, into Thrace ; Melampus, into Argos ; Trophonius, into Boeotia ; Minos, into Crete ; Cinyras, into Cyprus, and Erectheus, into Athens." And all these taught what many of the ancients represent as analogous to the doctrine of Moses, in their greater mysteries—Divine unity ; but the doctrine of the lesser gods and goddesses in their lesser mysteries. Moses alone taught the greater mystery of the Unity to the whole people ; and thus the Jews became the only nation in the world who were initiated into a unitary faith. "For those things,"

says Josephus against Apion, "which the Gentiles keep up for a few days only—that is, during those solemnities which they call Mysteries and Initiations—we, with vast delight and a plenitude of knowledge which admits of no error, fully enjoy and perpetually contemplate during the whole course of our lives." In like manner Eusebius teaches that the Hebrews were the only people who were initiated into the Greater Mysteries.* They were taken to the Rock.

The mission of Moses, therefore, appears to have been regarded, even by Josephus and the early Christians, as a providential enlargement of the school of the Greater Mysteries, and taken as the mysteries of other nations from the great fountain-head of all ancient mystery, the land of Egypt and

* We shall not dispute the question of the mysteries, as we can easily dispense with everything that is doubtful; and our argument does not depend on the literal truth of the above quotations; but they serve to illustrate the subject. How much originality there was in the Law of Moses it is now impossible to ascertain. But the sacrifices, the priesthood, the ark, and the general character of the religion were sufficiently akin to the prevailing theologies of the age to be regarded as modifications approving of the principle of paganism without its polytheism. The Divine Unity, as taught in the ancient mysteries, must have been very imperfect. But there must have been some unitary doctrines to account for the testimony of antiquity. Jablonaki, the celebrated author of the "*Pantheon Egyptiacum*," says that those men "who were most distinguished amongst the Egyptians for wisdom, acknowledged God to be a certain unbegotten Eternal Spirit prior to all things that exist; who created, preserves, contains, pervades and vivifies everything; who is the spirit of the universe, but the guardian and protector of men."

the house of bondage, but openly and publicly revealed to a separated nation, instead of being secretly and timidly inculcated to a chosen few of the higher orders of men who were considered safe to be entrusted with the secret. Whether this be strictly or only vaguely true, certain it is, that no other nation succeeded in popularising the reputed peculiarity of the Greater Mysteries, and even in Israel, for hundreds of years, it was rejected by the populace as a doctrine incompatible with the spirit of the age, and established at last after severe national affliction and that repentance which grief suggests as the mode of deliverance. The very name of God, most familiar to the nation in early times, was a plural word, *Elohim*—the Gods—the Heathen name of the Deity, analogous rather to the sand than to the rock, and a new name required to be introduced as the special appellative of the God of Israel—Jehovah the Rock. This required time ; and *Elohim* was evidently misleading, for whenever the Golden Calf or Calves were set up, the popular shout was raised, "These are thy Gods (*Elohim*), O Israel !"

The unity of God was, perhaps, never at any period of the world without its professors ; but the idea was too great for popular acceptance in the infancy of society, and therefore even those who held it with difficulty refrained from idolising and localising the object of their worship. Indeed it is very doubtful whether the Hebrew Patriarchs re-

garded the God of their worship in any other light than a king of angels. When the Lord appeared unto Abraham, he worshipped Him in the likeness of a man, with two others along with Him ; and Moses himself was shown the God of Israel in human shape ; and Israel required a long series of sharp and painful discipline before it was prepared to accept the idea of a divine unity, which grew from a small anthropomorphous germ into greater and greater magnitude and strength, enlarging and spiritualising itself with the mind of the people, struggling for ages with the natural idolatry or fetichism of the times, and never establishing and perpetuating itself in the popular mind until the nation had passed the ordeal of its first captivity, as it were from its own lesser to its greater initiation.

The lawgiver of Israel, coming out of Egypt with his wisdom, like most of the ancient lawgivers of the nations, nationalised this idea, which they are supposed to have dramatised in secret theatricals ; and thus he laid the foundation of a growing system which could not fail to embrace the world at last. Chosen for this especial purpose, and invested with the leadership of a people which was destined to commence, in a national and political capacity, the great movement of progress towards universal unity, he was furnished with such providential aid as was merely necessary to preserve him from failure. And in whatever manner the

Israelites were led, and to whatever extent they were miraculously supported, it matters not for our present purpose to inquire : the fact alone is sufficient for our argument, that Israel came out of Egypt and grew up slowly, and with many relapses and much difficulty, into a religious community that maintained, amid the prevailing polytheism of all other nations, the doctrine of one God, the Creator of all things good and evil, the Preserver of the one, and the final Destroyer of the other.

The mission of Moses being fundamental in its character necessarily begins with a fundamental principle, and that principle must be LAW, the rock to rest upon. It cannot be liberty ; for that, like the sand of the desert, is loose and volatile. Liberty is the chaos which law reduces to order. The world had already enjoyed this primitive chaotic state for a season before the time of Moses, as indeed it does yet ; for the true law of order is not yet established, or even proclaimed. But, as the people of Israel were chosen to begin the movement of progress towards this final revelation and establishment of the Law of Order, they began their own career with an inferior or imperfect semblance of the perfect model, uncompromising, absolute and inexorable in its spirit ; for the Law of Universal Order and Rectitude is such a law, immutable in its nature and unyielding in its requisitions. The seed must personify the plant which it is to produce ;

but it must not be the plant itself, which is to be developed at a distant period: it must not be nutritive to the soul, any more than a rock to the body. The law of Moses is, therefore, to be regarded as an imperfect thing in the sense of an ultimate—for it is not intended as an ultimate—and is no more fitted for the final constitution of society than is the granite of Sinai for the maintenance in comfort of the earth's population. It is the beginning and not the end; and as all beginnings are superseded by their consequents, as all foundations are overlaid with their superstructures, so also it must be with any preliminary institution which is destined to lead into, but not actually to be, a final and a perfect system.

However, the spirit of the plant that is to be, is in the seed from the commencement, and from that spirit the seed receives its gradual development; and so, in the imperfect and unsatisfactory institutions which Moses was commissioned to give to the Jews, and which a Prophet of Israel has denominated "Statutes that were not good, and judgments by which a man should not live," and an Apostle has characterised as "a burden too grievous to be borne," we find a personification of the fundamental character of God's everlasting law, *without*, or not yet reduced by solution into a form of, liberty. The Liberty is an element to be represented hereafter by another nation. It is not given to the Hebrews to personify or to cultivate. They

typify a people under absolute law, and little or ill regulated liberty; and it is in this capacity that the Divine Legation of Moses, as the representative in embryo of one of the two chief component elements of the Everlasting Law of Liberty is to be revealed. That component element is the primordial element; for, without a firm and authoritative basis on which the superstructure of human liberty could be raised, the elements of human society would fall into confusion, and moral and intellectual dissipation would ensue. Religious authority or divine law, so far as we have it, has proved, from the commencement of historical progress, the firmest support of the social fabric; and whenever the reverence for this law has declined, the fabric of society has been shaken to its base.

In strict analogy with this legal discipline and absolutism, or law without liberty, is the limitation of mind which the first act of the drama prescribes with uncompromising severity. No division of authority, no rivalry, no theological freedom is allowed. Discussion is checked as irreverent to the Creator. Philosophy in vain seeks a field of intellectual exercise. Science can discover no career to pursue. Art is even forbidden to receive her natural inspiration and realise the creations of her own fancy. The commandment is rigid, stern and solemn, and the sphere of individual liberty so limited, that even when the Rabbis of the Jewish nation elaborated their own characteristic system

of philosophy, their own peculiar form of liberty, it was merely a riveting of the fetters by which the original discipline had bound them. They magnified the law without increasing its dignity, and they multiplied its details and diffused its authority over a greater variety of actions, without diminishing its pressure upon any. The very exercise of philosophical criticism, which at last they attained, was employed to forge new chains and increase the old bondage ; and though the political nucleus of the nation has now disappeared from the firmament of society, the spirit, like the comet's tail, extends to the present, and preserves the rigour which first characterised the mission as the primary rock of modern civilisation.

He who has the toothache, say the Doctors of the Talmud—*i.e.*, the Mishna and Gemara, who work out the detritus, the pulverisation of the Rock of Sinai—"must not rinse his teeth with vinegar on the Sabbath ; but he may wash them as usual, or dip something in vinegar and rub them. He who has pains in his loins may not rub them with wine or vinegar. He may anoint them, however, with any kind of oil, except rose-oil. Princes may anoint their wounds with rose-oil, as they are in the habit of so anointing themselves on week-days." Rabbi Simeon says, "All Israelites are to be accounted princes in this respect."

"It is not permitted to break pieces of earthenware on the festival, or to cut paper to be placed

over salted fish while it is broiled ; neither may the fallen mortar be removed on that day from the oven ; but it is lawful to press it close."

The cripple may go out on the Sabbath with his wooden leg. Such is the dictum of Rabbi Meir ; but Rabbi José prohibits it.

A woman must not go out on the Sabbath with a needle that has an eye ; and no man must carry rope sufficient to make the handle of a box ; or bird-lime sufficient to put on the lime-twigg ; or manure sufficient for a cabbage-stalk ; or bone sufficient to make a spoon ; or glass sufficient to scrape a weaver's shuttle ; or a stone large enough to throw at a bird, or, as Rabbi Eleazar Ben Jacob more profoundly expresses himself, at a beast.

This is a specimen of the pulverised law and its casuistry. The Talmud is full of such barren and unproductive regions of logical freedom of discussion—hard-baked earth, in which there is no water. The severity, however, produced its natural reaction ; and we find, in Rabbinical morality, the genuine source of that Jesuitical sophistry by which the rigid requirements of a precept are evaded. " If a stag enter a house (on the Sabbath), and one man shuts him in, he is guilty. If two shut him in, they are absolved. If one man is not able to shut him in, and *therefore* two shut him in, they are guilty. Rabbi Simeon absolves them." —" He who plucks leaf, flower, or blossom out of a perforated flower-pot on the Sabbath, is guilty ;

but if the flower-pot is not perforated, he is absolved." Rabbi Simeon absolves them. Rabbi Simeon is fond of liberty ; but he does not always dare to interfere. The difference of the doctors reveals the nature of the freedom they enjoyed—the liberty of shaking their own chains. "Whoever carries out, either with his right hand or his left, in his cap, or on his shoulder (on the Sabbath), is guilty, the last being the manner in which the sons of Kohath carried their load ; but if he carries on the back of his hand, or pushes with his foot, or carries in his mouth, or shoves with his elbow, or carries in his ear, or tied to his hair, or in the purse of his girdle with the opening downwards, or between his girdle and his shirt, or in the skirt of his shirt, or in his shoe, or in his sandal, he is absolved, because he carries not in the usual way." Two great schools of Rabbis differ on the important question, whether on the Sabbath the bones and husks may be removed from the tablecloth, or the tablecloth removed with them and shaken.

This may be called the unprofitable sand of the desert—the pounded rock of the law ; and it flies in the faces and blinds the eyes of the children of Israel in all their journeyings and all their dispersions. It is a curious phenomenon, that law of the rock and this commentary of the sand. But the one is the root, and the other is the development of a fragmentary and fundamental mission, which, regarded as an isolated fact, is little

else than a deformity or a great abortion ; but, viewed in the light of the first or the lowest grade of a scale of providential movements, is a revelation of wisdom before which the highest human intelligence must bend with reverence. The Law is from Sinai ; the Talmud is from Babylon, and belongs to the dispersion.

Given the problem to form a people by means of a law, and preserve that people in dispersion till the great consummation of the eras and the end of the drama ; there is no conceivable mode by which that object could be better accomplished than the Law of Moses and the Talmudic interpretation. It is perfect ; it has accomplished its end ; and still continues to maintain the Jewish nation in a state of complete isolation from the rest of the world. The Jews, who reject the Talmud, are weakest in faith and in national prejudice. The comment has riveted the fetters which the law only forged. Whenever a Rabbi becomes a philosopher, he is in danger of apostacy. A Jewish High Priest is at heart a slayer of cattle, as all ancient priests were ; and the Jewish nation would sacrifice bulls and goats, like their fathers of old, were their land restored to them and their Temple rebuilt. They are unprogressive : they live in the ancient, not in modern times.

And yet the people belong to the great family of progress. Their literature has inspired, their devotion has ennobled, and their faith has transformed the whole world of civilisation. Every nation in

Christendom rests on the basis and is awed by the threatenings of the covenant of Sinai. The law of the Decalogue is a remnant of the granite that constitutes the summit of the *Jebel Musa*, or mountain of Moses. Written in gold, or deeply inscribed on its two tables, it hangs conspicuous on our chancel walls. It repeats its promises and utters its threats in our prayer-books and catechisms; it is interwoven with our national habits and political legislation; and it is yet the foundation of that moral philosophy on which each Christian people raises the superstructure of its own peculiar form of practical religion.

SCENE SECOND.

THE ISRAELITES IN THE LAND OF PROMISE.

The law being promulgated, the people were taken to a habitable region. But what a region! It is a greater geological wonder than the former—a region divided by a river and a sea of a peculiar and exclusive character; the latter being depressed 1400 feet beneath the level of the Mediterranean, and the former flowing down like the Stygian river beneath the plain of the ocean and the earth. The banks of Jordan and the lake Asphaltites are the lowermost regions of the habitable globe. Here the political foundation of Western civilisation was to be laid, and the people were commanded to approach

and cross this river from the East. In the West they found some plains with little rivers flowing into the sea ; but they could not obtain full possession of these, nor of the sea-coast. They were shut up in a mountainous region from the rest of the world, with a river and a sea of their own that communicated with no other seas or rivers, and symbolised in the most perfect manner the speciality of the mission which they had received in the Wilderness.

The Rock and the Sand ! the foreground of the scene ! and behind them the river and the sea of Palestine ! Jordan ! in whose hallowed stream the Saviour was baptised, and with whose consecrated waters the religion of Baptism commenced its course adown the stream of time ! What sacred sea receives thy floods and preserves them for ever in its own incorruptible bosom ? It is the Sea of Death, the Acherusean, the Plutonian lake ! the sea that is too deadening for life to exist in it, and whose ponderous waters are sunk deep and dread beneath the common level of all other seas ! Even the birds that attempt to wing their way through its cheerless firmament are, by the wildered Arabs, believed to faint and drop down dead upon its awful surface. Regions of sorrow, doleful banks surround its bituminous bed. Volcanic tufa, lava, sulphur and pitch ; ruins of cities swallowed up in wrath ; deserted fields, forsaken gardens, ruinous and shapeless masses of nature and art, combined and fused in

one common desolation ! Jordan's bosom ! Jordan's terminus ! there the river of judgment completes its mission, and there it also receives its interpretation. The first act of this mighty drama will not lead into life ! "I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments by which a man should not live."—"By the deeds of the law shall no flesh living be justified."—"The just man shall live by his faith." Flow on, Jordan ! flow on, thou river of God ! but thy sanctity, thy canonisation will not preserve thee from death ! Thou art only the stream of time ! for thee there is no everlasting life. Jordan's destination is the Dead Sea !

And did the law not promise everlasting life to its followers ? Did it neither create nor indulge a hope of another and a better state of being than this ? No ; never. Not a whisper about it, not one solitary sentence in Moses' books that would lead any reader to suppose that Moses ever heard, or even dreamt, of any other life or world than the present : and therefore the Jews, to this day, have no definite faith about another life, and what they have they have borrowed from the Pagans, and many of them believe that men are born repeatedly into the world, and that Moses and the Prophets may all be living amongst us in other bodies. The life of the law was confined to Jordan's basin. It died in the sea. Long life was promised to the obedient ; but it was long life upon Jordan's banks, "In the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

Eternal life is promised to no man by the law : and the spirit of that law is the spirit of death to all the higher energies of the mind and the soul of man. The Jew who adheres to his law and its commentaries, the rock and the sand of the wilderness of his faith, must abjure the exercise of that liberty of thought, that free enjoyment of intellectual manhood and genius, on which alone the car of civilisation advances. When he thinks like a philosopher he ceases to be a Jew, and comes out from amongst his brethren. His faith, in a stationary and conservative revelation, dies in proportion as he lives to progress. A Jewish Rabbi is a theological fixture. A Jewish gentleman is a man who is out in the world upon bail. As a poet he may not traverse the fields and cull the flowers, except within certain prescribed limitations. As a painter, it is doubtful if he can legitimately act at all ; and were he to sculpture a Madonna, an Ecce Homo, a Saint, or a Patriarch, he would be guilty of an act which Rabbinical discipline would not indulge. How far the free-living Jews of modern times may think themselves bound by such restrictions it is not worth our trouble to inquire. In proportion as they reason themselves into liberty, they cease to be true to their nation and its traditions. In France and Germany the defections are numerous. In England, where the Jews enjoy a wide arena of commercial enterprise, the fields of poetry, philosophy and art, have been almost entirely neglected by them. But a

few to whom the charms of liberty were irresistible have come out from the synagogue like fishes out of Jordan, and distinguished themselves amongst the Gentiles. In Germany, where commerce is weak and genius transcendent in force and aspirations, the Jordan fishes, aware of their fate if they go with the stream, transfer themselves in numbers, as the flatheads of South and the swampines of North America are known to do, by walking over land with a desperate effort of gill and fin, to another current : there they are baptised into another faith and a life of advancement ; and there they escape also the doom which the law has pronounced on all who go with it. But the fishes that go with Jordan's waters die in the sea.

Mountains, too—those pedestals of the earth—those geological pillars on which the whole structure of human society is reared—are particularly characteristic of the Land of Promise. Mount Zion is the new and adopted rock of Sinai ; for “out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” Jerusalem is built on limestone rocks and surrounded by hills : “As the mountains stand around it, so the Lord encompasseth his people.” The map of the Holy Land is like the map of the moon—a scene of crags and precipices, revealing the primitive strata, or the desolate ruins and upheavings of the earth's crust, and symbolising the beginning, not the completion, of the work of creation. Imprisoned amongst

the hills, with not a sea-port or a river, and not even a brook in the summer season, the metropolis of Palestine was forbidden by position to cultivate free intercourse with the nations of the world. Limited in vision, remote from commerce, free and independent of all foreign aid, the Israelites were taught to regard themselves as a peculiar people, of whose communion the rest of the world were unworthy ; and in this frame of mind the foundations were laid of that bigotry and intolerance, which are the inevitable consequences of an inexorable law, and which, unknown to the neighbouring Gentile nations, were first established in the Western world, as an evidence of holiness, fidelity, and attachment to principle, by the people of the burning mountain. This characteristic of a plutonic or igneous origin we have all inherited, in so far as we have all derived a portion of our spirit from the first act of the Drama. But they who represent that act exclusively and absolutely inherit this peculiarity in its greatest intensity ; and therefore we find that, wheresoever the Jew is exiled amongst the nations, he is still walled up in spirit amongst the hills of his own limited nationality, and he still believes, as his forefathers did, that within these rugged walls of unsocial seclusion he enjoys the special favour and protection of the Lord.

But on those wild mountains, and the banks of that awful sea and sunken river, there are fertile

spots for the nourishment of the people. Corn and wine can be raised in abundance on the limestone beds of calcareous earth. Oranges and peaches, almonds and apricots, luxuriantly flourish amid the apples of Sodom. The evil is not un-mixed with good : the blessing of Gerizim and the curse of Ebal stand face to face, and neutralise one another. Do not despise a providential mission : wait and see. There are diamonds to be found amongst the pebbles of Judah.

Undeveloped as the Jewish act of the Drama is, with a worm in the pulp and excoriation on the surface, with a savour that mortifies art and science, philosophy and literature, and a dogmatism that even rebels against Nature, it is rich in its better, though poor in its worse, characteristics. It has its share of the good, as well as of the evil. It has eaten of the tree of knowledge, and experienced the duality that ever characterises it. It has oases in its desert, beautiful and glorious : it is the most solemn and reverential of all religions : its God is the greatest of all the gods. Moses knew this from the beginning, when he exclaimed, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the gods ? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders ?" The unrivalled unity of the God of Israel distinguishes him from all the gods of the Gentiles, and his condescension from the God of the Deist ; and though even in the awful solitude and grandeur of this unity, the

Jew regards him as little better than a Being with prejudices, hatreds, and troublesome regrets and sorrows, like those of Jupiter Olympus, He is still at the top of the list of mundane divinities, like the hoary granite on the top of Sinai, and the fit foundation on which to rear the splendid edifice of an everlasting religion and policy. Who else amongst the gods but he could bear the burden? And as the idea of God in the human mind grows with the development of the human mind itself, what other god in the list of divinities could ever, in man's estimation, grow up into the supreme, the sole, and the eternal? He will grow as the vine, and like the olive-branch He will send forth His shoots; He will cover the rock of His foundations with soil, and overlay the sand of His wilderness with fruitful mould; His beauty will become as a garden of herbs, and His fragrance as the breath of Lebanon.

And what other faith but that of Israel has embraced the dramatic idea in human destiny, and worked itself up from the barren and secluded rock of a national policy, into the rich expectation of a universal kingdom? The idea of a Messiah is peculiar to Israel. It is the feeble and immature development of the idea of a universal empire of peace. It is the anticipation in mystic and prophetic vision of the end of the drama. All the bards and prophets of Israel sing and dream in poetic rapture and visionary trance of this great

consummation. The little stone becomes a mountain that covers the earth; the little seed becomes a tree in which all the birds of heaven take refuge. "Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit."—"Men shall be blessed in him, and all nations shall call him blessed." Every family of the earth enjoys the promise, and "all flesh will see the salvation of God." This is the good of the tree of knowledge, of which Israel has eaten, and which will stand. The evil, if evil can be in it, is the root that grows downwards, and hides itself in shame from the sight. But this is the plumula that shoots joyfully and proudly upwards, and fumigates, as incense from the censer, the temple of civilisation with its fragrance. The prophets of Israel have reached the sublimest heights of song, without art or method, or classical continuity, or logical consecutiveness. They stand beside the lawgiver on the top of the rock, and see the visions of glory afar off. The distance hallucinates them, the mist bewilders them, and the voice mystifies them; but the world's destiny is prefigured before them, and they see the end in the beginning of the Divine Drama. Rich as the clusters of grapes that grow above the tuff and the lava of Palestine, sweet as the honey and the milk of Canaan, is the hope that gleams from Israel's only temple, that is destined, by translation into higher and higher meanings, to grow coextensive with the universe.

Therefore Jerusalem still is the holiest of cities, and Zion of mountains. Reverence and dignity are associated with their names ; all the land is consecrated in song, and incorporated with the praise and the worship of the Eternal. Vain is the attempt of any successor to eclipse its glory. Neither Rome, nor Paris, nor London is sufficiently sacred even to be uttered without the savour of profanity in a prayer or a hymn of adoration ; but the songs of the church are the songs of Zion, and all the world of Western civilisation is familiar with the idea of the Holy Land. "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness. Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king. God is known in her palaces for a refuge."

But this, like much of the Jewish Word, in its vulgar or common sense, and without a translation into a higher meaning, is not true, at least in reference to the first act of the drama ; and therefore the spirit of mystery falsifies the eulogy above quoted, and all other eulogies, in very strong and unequivocal terms ; and dooms the land "to eternal desolation,"* and "its forts and its towers to be-

* Jeremiah xxv, 9, translated in our Bible "perpetual desolation," perhaps to hide its force. But the same land that is given to the Jews for ever is taken from them for ever. "Every work of God is for ever." So says Solomon.

come dens for ever ;” and of the holy city herself, the joy of the whole earth, he says in wrath, “Go ye upon her walls and destroy, but make not a full end ; take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord’s.”—“Call his name Lo-ammi, for ye are not my people, neither will I be your God.” Neither the idea of a God, nor the realisation of a people, a nation, a capital, a polity, or a religion, had yet come to their fulness ; therefore destroy, destroy and transfer the precedence to another people. It was the germ of a universal polity, not its efflorescence—a separated and isolated element, not the combination of all the elements of civilisation. It was as oxygen without hydrogen or without nitrogen. It did not constitute a life-giving element of water or of air, but merely an isolated gas, which is destructive to life unless in combination with its corresponding opposite. We find, therefore, an atmosphere of spiritual death and barbarism in the Jewish polity—an unsocial people—a people fettered in their own minds, and disposed, by national prejudice and intolerance, to destroy the liberty enjoyed by others—a nation of men amongst whom the female element, the natural type of liberty, was degraded and held in slavish subjection—men who could at any time discharge their wives, as if they were merely female slaves, by giving or throwing at them a *get*, or a writing of divorcement—men who could legally gall and tantalise their wives by bringing in rivals into

their family, or concubines without number, and to whom there was no legal restraint in the gratification of sexual passion ; that very passion which has the semblance of liberty, and takes the name of licentiousness, but is, in fact, a bondage, and forms a prominent part of that heavy yoke under which the representative character of their law had brought them—a people who sold men and women in the market as cattle, who even sold their own brethren, and made merchandise of their own flesh and blood ;* whose laws were cruel in the punishment of crime, but not provisional in removing the temptation to commit it ; whose discipline was force, and to whom persuasion was impracticable for want of the means ; a people whose glory was in strength, whose mighty men were men of war and blood, whose men of peace were despised, and whose prophets were stoned. Such a people could not be the people of God, in his exalted capacity as a God of Peace, of Love, and of Beauty, but only

* Be it observed, however, that the legal slavery of the Jews was the mildest form of slavery ; and many merciful provisions were made in the law for the benefit of the bondman and bondwoman. They must be liberated in the year of jubilee if Gentiles ; and if Hebrews, in the sabbatical year. There was no distinction of blood acknowledged between the slave and his master ; and a bondwoman was not considered unworthy to become the mother of her master's heir. It is the slavery of the Mahometan East at this day in many of its principal features, recognising the principle of natural equality—a beautiful, fundamental and Arabian principle of the Desert, from which the Western world has widely departed.

of that fractional and primordial aspect of God which the law represented. When, therefore, the Spirit assumed the lower dramatic personality, he called them his people ; but, when he assumed the higher capacity, he denied the Word which he had previously uttered. Both Words are correct. One refers to the beginning ; the other to the end. Every perishable thing that God hath created, every institution he has ordained, may be both praised and condemned—praised as a means, but condemned as an ultimate. Therefore, at one time the Spirit in mercy calls Israel his people, and himself their God ; at another time he denies the Word as positively as he affirmed it. Both are true ; for Israel is good as the root, but bad as the efflorescence. Charity believes all things in their own believable sense ; and such a sense every thing possesses that has an existence. But the Jews did not, nor do they yet, know this mode of believing, and they did not understand their own Word. It was a mystery to them because of its apparent contradictions, though these contradictions are as essential to its divinity as the opposite extremes of elemental nature, from which all the energies of mineral, animal and vegetable being are derived.

It was a false unity, therefore, which the Jews were taught. Had it been the true, they would have been the final people. Instead of being the first only, they would have been the first and the last, not merely the down on the cheek, but the

full-grown beard. In all the books of Moses there is nothing to justify the supposition that he and his people had any idea of the omnipresent unity of God. The God of Israel is usually represented as a finite being. He walks like a man, and comes down like an angel. He visits the patriarch Abraham as a man, and eats at his table. He appeared in person "to Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the Elders of Israel, and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hands; also they saw God, and did eat and drink." The prophets also saw like representations; and from such similitudes, or spirit manifestations, no doubt the faith of the people of Israel, respecting the divine unity, was formed as the sole and the absolute chief of a hierarchy of angels, who took delight, like a heathen god, in the blood of beasts and the smell of burnt offerings, and was propitiated thereby—the lowest and fundamental idea of religion, corresponding in analogy to the barren rock, but essential to the fulness of the great superstructure.* The fulness of unity grows up out of

* Sacrifice is the true type of progress. We sacrifice a lower life to cultivate and enjoy a higher. All improvement is a sacrifice in this sense. But, in growing up from the root, it begins at the bare and barren rock that affords no nourishment to the soul. The blood

the seed of that finite and modified species of unity which was planted in Israel, but is so much in advance of that feeble idea of the Divine character, that it will be tantamount to a new revelation of God to the world—God as a universal instead of an individual Being.

SCENE THIRD.

LEGITIMATE AGENTS AND TEACHERS OF IMPERFECTION.

Amongst all the questions which have puzzled divines and philosophers, and, indeed, the whole human race (for it seems to be regarded as an insoluble problem still by all), is that very simple, intelligible, beautiful and sublime paradox, which may be denominated, for want of a better name, Divine imperfection, but is merely a degree in the

of the beast is this lowest idea. In Christianity it rises a step higher to the humanity of Christ's nature ; for it is by sacrificing the lower grades that we ascend to the higher ; and we are exhorted to offer up our bodies a living sacrifice, and mortify the flesh, with its affections and lusts. We shall see, in due time, this rising by inference up to doleful asceticism, and *autos da fe*, or burnt offerings of human victims. The highest of all sacrifices are the everlasting sacrifices of righteousness, the sacrifices of selfish and inferior feelings and passions ; for these are the true beasts, best represented by clean or domestic animals, as they belong to ourselves, and are transubstantiated into ourselves by being used as food. And therefore it is for ever a sacrifice of beasts ; only the lower is translated into the higher meaning, as the rock is translated into alluvial and nourishing soil.

graduated scale of perfection. Nature is full of imperfection. Every animal, every plant, every climate, every harvest, every organ of man's body, every attribute of his soul, is imperfect. We talk of the wisdom and perfection of God's works in generals or universals ; but whenever we descend into the sphere of particulars, we hesitate not to find fault. Man is a wonderful, a perfect work of God : it is impossible for a human mind to conceive an improvement in the general structure of a human body : but when we select any individual man or woman, we say, "this man's shoulders are too narrow, his head is too small, his feet are too large, his legs are too thick ; that woman has too large a head, her eyes are too small, her nose is too long, her hand is too broad and her fingers too short ; if she were six inches taller she would be much improved." We criticise every particular lion, tiger, bull or cow, horse or dog, after a similar fashion ; and the botanist finds it a difficult endeavour to procure a very satisfactory specimen of any particular plant. In other words, though the works of God are perfect in universals, they are not so in particulars. Now, this is a beautiful, a glorious truth, of such importance that it ought to be indelibly engraved on every human heart. It contains the very seed of wisdom. The unconsciousness of this truth, the want of a sufficient appreciation of its value, or forgetfulness of it in treating of subjects to the solution of which it is the appropriate key, has

made many a talented man seem feeble in attempting to solve a very simple problem. The superficial opinion of all the world, apparently for want of thought, on this question, is, that every individual or particular divine production must be perfect in the common sense of the word; and what is not perfect they ascribe equivocally to Nature, or any other cause but God—a habit of mind which, logically developed, leads a man to its natural ultimate, practical and theoretical atheism; for, seeing nothing around him that is absolutely perfect or free from defect, he seeks for the cause in an imperfect agent, and goes no farther when he has found it.

Were God's particular works all and alike perfect, there would be neither learning nor progress, no improvement, no amendment, no desire to improve or amend, and, therefore, no industry, no activity, no motive whatever even for action. God's works are a graduated scale of better and worse, like a musical gamut, with greater and lesser concords and innumerable discords. Perfection belongs to the whole collectively, never to any of the parts. It is not any particular note that makes the music; it is the accords and varieties of notes in union and succession. One sound may be more pleasing than another, but each is disagreeable in continuous utterance without combination with its opposites and counterparts. Yet God made all these various sounds, with all their grating as well as pleasing combinations. Supposing a man of the school above

described to bring his philosophy or theology into musical science, he would then assert that each note, or any number of notes, being works of God, must be perfect notes and make perfect music. But whatever impression his argument might produce upon juvenile reason, the ear and the feelings would remain dissatisfied. In like manner men reason about prophecy. They take it for granted that because prophecy is called a Divine revelation, therefore each prophet's word must constitute a separate and individual perfection, and they labour very hard, with such logic as their principles admit of, to prove it so to their own understandings and those of other people, though they have before their minds' eye the divinely acknowledged and asserted imperfection of the law of Moses, the very root and stock of all that is admitted to be revelation in the Western world. But, like the one-note music, their logic makes but little impression. One prophet is like one man, or one musical note; he may form a discord or imperfect concord; he is a particular, not a universal work of God. Prophecy (*i. e.* revelation by voice and vision), as a generic whole, as an element of Divine government, like music in the abstract, is perfection (that is, in a qualified sense, for generic wholes are not the absolute whole); but no individual revelation whatever can be perfect any more than any other individual or particular work of God. It is a part, and it even antagonises another part and con-

tradicts another part and resists it, whilst that part resists it in return with equal right and authority, until each finds its place in the great whole, and the music of the Divine arrangement is completed by an harmonious combination of the units.

Prophecy is a universal agent. There never was an age without prophets. They exist now as real and as genuine, though not so eminent and authoritative, as they ever did exist ; and through all ages of the church we find them innumerable, seeing visions and hearing voices, and speaking as of old in the name of the Spirit. But as only one particular nation had a mission to personify this element of Divine government, the *membra disjecta*, or Sibyl's leaves of the Gentiles, are not collected and compiled into a volume like the ancient literature of the Hebrews, who, being the people chosen to begin the career of civilisation, are of all others best entitled to exemplify the juvenile or primitive inspiration, which comes in mystic vision and dark sayings before the mind is matured and has learned the use of its logical faculties. Hence prophets abounded in Israel, chiefly in its primitive era, before the captivity ; for, during the captivity, the people mixed with the Gentiles, and learned the languages and the philosophies of the Chaldeans and the Greeks, and began, for the first time in their history, to interpret and comment, and form Rabbinical schools of theology and philosophy. Prophecy then ceased, or rather they ceased to

compile prophecies, having advanced beyond the age in which man is disposed to follow any inspiration which does not co-operate with his own understanding. Not, however, understanding the nature of the mystic phenomena, they established a creed, which prevails to this day, that revelation has ceased, and that modern pretenders to inspiration are either madmen or impostors—the only intelligible mode of avoiding the difficulties which presented themselves to their minds—a mode still resorted to by Jews, Christians, Philosophers, Deists, and Atheists, to account for all spiritual visitations, such as the mission of Mahomet or Swedenborg, which they cannot understand, for the reason above given, their belief being that even a particular and local revelation from God can never be characterised by any imperfection or any contradiction to lately discovered truths in science and philosophy. In other words, there is no gradation in their musical scale of revelation—no teaching adapted for the times—no discords, no imperfect concords. In fact all must be unisons, all octaves, or all fifths, absolutes, not relatives, or it does not accord with their ideas of perfection. And thus falsely primed with first principles, believers stumble at the Word and are afraid of science, and infidels triumph through the weakness of believers, and popular teachers have learned to support one form of truth by hiding their face from another ; whilst enemies assail and batter down the paper walls of the letter, in which

there is no strength, and shout like children, as if they had gained a glorious victory.

But there is neither victory nor defeat. Both armies have possession of a portion of the field, and both will keep their possession till a mutual understanding take place. Meanwhile facts are stubborn things, and, as if to facilitate the means of effecting this final understanding, Providence has taken special care to introduce into the revelations of the very highest authority, not only sayings irreconcilable with modern scientific knowledge, but precepts incompatible with modern ideas of refinement, as well as literal errors and contradictions which are inconsistent with particular perfection, like rude and imperfectly developed forms in the early history of creation. And yet the whole, as the book of destiny that takes the lead in the civilisation of the world, and collects all the other modes of inspiration around it, is a perfect work for the purpose for which it was intended, however morally defective or scientifically and historically inaccurate in any of its particular parts. It is the collective literature of a nation, an entire people, a *vox Dei*; and its Divinity lies in its collective mission, as the book of the first act of the Divine Drama, not in the mission of any of its individual writers, or the perfect and reliable truth, *vulgarly interpreted*, of any of his words. In this collective and universal sense, the Bible exceeds all other books that ever were published. It is the only book in the Western

world of which you can say, that if it had not existed, the face of the whole civilised world would have been different. Take any one literary work of equal size—take even a collection of works, our best epic or dramatic poets, Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare and Milton—civilisation might have existed just as it is without any or all of them. But suppose the Jewish literature had no existence, then the whole face of society would have been different, and we might have been sacrificing bulls to Jupiter and walking in procession with images of Venus, Pan and Priapus, riding on donkeys through the streets of London, or keeping up the old Saturnalia, Lupercalia, and Bacchanalia of the free and easy, the merry and the mischievous deities. This one book, or rather this national collection of books, this Jewish library, has conquered the Western world, and is now engaged in the conquest of the East ; and whatever its particular imperfections may be, it must, as a totality, be possessed of a higher order of Divinity than any other book, not only because it has done a greater work in the political world, but also because, more than any other book, it inspires the soul of man with the richest hopes, and presents the strongest motives to the pursuit of virtue, that have yet been discovered. When once its successor comes and supersedes it, we shall be logically prepared to give it a second place in the literary world ; but till then it is the king of books, and its successor can be nothing else than its son,

its legitimate heir, and the finisher of the work which it has begun. Nothing can ever undo what it has accomplished, except by translating it into a higher meaning, and making use of it as a rock on which to build an everlasting structure.

The world also would have been very different had the Grecian literature never existed ; but this cannot be collected into one volume without incongruity, for it wants unity. The Jewish is the only national literature which can, by collation, make one book, whose object is sacred and uniform throughout, never trivial or frivolous ; and whose progress is developed as if by natural growth from the first to the last of its pages. Its power lies in its universality, not in its individuality ; in its whole, and not in its parts ; in its sanctity, not in its genius or talent ; and also in the fact that though its individual writers differ much, and even supersede what their predecessors have done, they still respect and revere each other as writers by authority, and thus preserve the unity which is the characteristic feature of the national mission. The Bible is a *vox populi*, and the only one that exists in the world of literature.

SCENE FOURTH.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL.

Were we to accept an idea of the Prophet of Israel from the painter or the poet, the divine or the pulpit orator, we should represent him as a very elevated, dignified, and venerable personage, of most commanding, reverential aspect, with a high, broad and majestic forehead, a full, a white and a flowing beard, long gray locks reposing on his shoulders or streaming in the wind, and drapery of ample fold—an orator surrounded with silent and thrilling auditors, and spectators awed by his mystic presence. But this is merely the prophet of the artist, not the prophet of Israel. Such men are not stoned and ridiculed, but respected; and there is every reason to believe that the ancient prophets were such men as would be even worse treated by the Christians than by the Jews; and, if not committed to the house of correction, confined in a public or private asylum. Were any man in England to do on Primrose Hill what Abraham did on Mount Moriah, with a knife in his hand, and his son bound with cords on a stone or block of wood before him, he would receive no mercy from an English judge and jury; and were he to add to the enormity of the offence by asserting that it was by the command of God that he

did so, he would only be regarded as a melancholy specimen either of alienated reason, or of hopeless depravity. On the other hand, were we to see a respectable man divest himself of his upper and nether garments, his coat and his hat, his stockings and shoes, and walk about the streets of London in a state of seminudity, we should all agree that the man was afflicted with mental infirmity; and our suspicions would amount to conviction and certainty, were he gravely to tell us that God had commanded him so to do. Yet the Lord commanded Isaiah, the greatest of the prophet-bards, to do this, and then said, "Like as my servant, Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years, for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia," &c. And were another Englishman to take a tile, and represent upon it the City of London, and lay this tile upon the ground, and build a fort against it, and besiege it, and take an iron pan, and set it up to represent the walls of the City, or Temple Bar, and then batter the iron pan, and say, "Thus saith the Lord: behold, I will bring against this city the Emperor of the French," &c., he would be pronounced an impostor, and none the more to be believed or respected, because he solemnly assured the spectators and auditors that the Lord had commanded him. Yet Ezekiel did this, by command of the Spirit, who also ordered him, whilst thus engaged, to eat the most polluted bread, baked with the

most abominable of all substances; but the prophet abhorring the idea, the dung of cattle was substituted, and the order countermanded; the Spirit thus correcting his own manuscript. Jeremiah was ordered to go all the way to the river Euphrates, several hundred miles, and hide his linen girdle in a hole of a rock. After many days, he was ordered back again to take it out, and he found it marred, and good for nothing. Then said the Spirit, "Thus will I mar the pride of Judah, and the great pride of Jerusalem." Supposing a man were sent from London to the Clyde upon such a message, and for such an illustration of the doom of the metropolis, what would the press—the educated, the uneducated, the rich, the poor—say of such a public teacher, pretending to inspiration? "The Lord send you on such an idle and foolish message as that! If he had sent you to Bedlam, it would have been more to the purpose!" So would Englishmen, bishops, clergy, judges and juries, authors and editors, their wives and sisters, evangelical and devout ladies, all reason with one accord respecting the man with such pretensions to a Divine mission. But such were the Prophets of Israel, men who were despised, and stoned, and buffeted, and treated with ignominy by all the influential classes, and even by the populace themselves, and who would be similarly treated by believers and unbelievers (infidels alike) of the present generation.

What is most worthy of our consideration in treating of prophets, is, that there was a graduated scale of prophecy, higher and lower, greater and lesser portions of the spirit. A certain portion of the spirit of Moses was taken from him, and given to the seventy Elders. Elisha prayed for a double portion of the spirit of Elijah; and when Elijah was ordered to do a work, he seems to have been entitled to transfer the order to one of his subordinates, who did it for him. There are greater and lesser prophets—truer and falser prophets—some prophets particularly true, others not to be depended on—and others, at the bottom of the scale, positively false. The series is like the musical scale: there are greater and lesser concords, and there are also discords, and the whole form a complete series. In the time of Ahab, we are told that there were in all about four hundred prophets in Israel, and they all promised him the victory in the name of the Lord. But there was one, a diamond amongst the pebbles, whom the king hated, because he always prophesied evil—a most disresponsible prophet, not received at court, and therefore not invited with the rest of the four hundred. At the request of Jehosaphat, the King of Judah, however, he was sent for; and when he came, he prophesied ironically, confirming the word of the other prophets. Afterwards he recanted, and seriously told the king that the Lord had

sent a lying spirit into the four hundred to deceive them, and persuade him to go up to battle and fall ; for which response of the oracle he received a blow upon the cheek. The Lord creates pebbles as well as diamonds, and seeming diamonds as well as true ones. Nor were they the Prophets of Israel only who prophesied falsely, but the Prophets of Judah also. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means."—"The prophet is a fool ; the snare of a fowler in all his ways, and hatred in the house of his God."—"Hearken not unto them who prophesy unto you." Regard not their visions nor their dreams. "I have not sent them ; they prophesy out of their own hearts." And yet the Spirit does not hesitate to accept the responsibility of all the gamut of prophecy, from the highest concord to the lowest discord ; for he not only declares that he sends the lying spirits to deceive the prophets collectively, but when any individual prophet is deceived, the highest authority declares, "I, the Lord, have deceived him, and will stretch forth my hand against him, and destroy him ;" for he has not the final spirit of instruction, and therefore "I have not sent him ;" but merely an ephemeral spirit of expediency, whose mission is for a season, and therefore "I have sent him," but will not establish him. And such a spirit all prophets, more or less, have ; for every man who comes with a mission

of doubtful meaning and mystery, receives darkness, and not light, as Jeremiah says was the case with him, from the spirit who sends him.

The highest order of prophets are those who were the least compromising, the most determined and resolute and careless of consequences ; but the true and the false, the better and the worse inspirations, were mixed up with all. We have an instance in Scripture of a true prophet of the Lord deceiving another prophet with an atrocious falsehood, and then pronouncing a judgment upon him for believing it, himself unrebuked ; and the finest prophecy in the Pentateuch is uttered by Balaam the wizard, who was put to death by Moses for being a wizard as well as a prophet of the Lord. The prophetic inspiration is not infallible any more than genius itself. It sometimes rises to the very throne and bathes in the "bright effluence of bright essence undefiled ;" but it more frequently attains to nothing more than a middle flight, and not unfrequently creeps and walks on the surface of the earth with even feebler evidences of merit, either logical, sentimental, or descriptive, than ordinary human intelligence. The prophet is like a coloured glass, through which the white light in passing is transmuted into coloured light, blue, red or yellow, or even a darker hue ; or he is like a prism, through which the light in passing is refracted into sectarian, hostile, and repugnant rays, with different attributes ; one ray being warm, ano-

ther cold ; one electrical, the other magnetical ; one possessing more light, another more heat, another more *active*, corresponding to intellectual, moral and physical influence, and thus variegating the nature of his mission, his words and his works, even as the nature of man collectively is variegated, exhibiting all the gradations of higher and lower, better and worse, but perfection nowhere. Thus, as it is with the light of the physical, so also it is with the light of the theological Sun, the Sun also of logical, poetical or artistical revelation, all obedient to the same law of graduated imperfection, which is the everlasting law of Divine government, and belongs to every species of Revelation alike, as it belongs to universal Nature, partitively regarded.

Now, of all the forms and degrees of Divine revelation of an elevated character, influential in rearing the fabric of human society, establishing order in government and reverence in council, that of the Jews which comes by Voice and Vision addressed to, and not impressed on, the understanding, is the most fundamental and pro-logical. It is juvenile and peculiarly adapted for the primitive ages ; not reasoning like the philosopher, or collecting materials of thought like the naturalist, for this would be invading the province of puberty and reason, but merely presenting mystic images, like nursery literature, for drawing out the young and inexperienced faculties. The analogical order of Divine wisdom must be preserved, and whenever a

nation advances to a state of puberty, and is invested with a higher than a juvenile or primitive mission, the voice of prophecy ceases to be a master, and the exercise of independent reason, aided by the invisible, imperceptible and recondite inspiration of the Spirit, begins ; for the Spirit of Interpretation is greater than the Spirit of Prophecy. Therefore we may say of the greatest of all men and of all teachers, that he has neither voice nor vision revelation, but is both blind to the one and deaf to the other. "Who is blind but my servant and deaf as the messenger I have sent? who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant?" implying the compatibility of a certain kind of blindness and deafness with perfection.* Moreover, St. Paul informs us that prophecy is an inferior dispensation adapted for children, and that prophecies will fail ; *i.e.*, apparently, not only cease to be uttered, but fail to be accomplished, at least as men understand them ; and a Hebrew Prophet assures us that in the great era of Restoration which is promised for the world, so great will be the detestation of prophecy, that if any man shall presume to give utterance to it, "His father and mother that begat him shall thrust him through with a dart," for

* This is not the meaning usually attached to the passage quoted ; but we prefer the higher meanings of ambiguous language. Lower meanings are merely the lesser mysteries : the greater must be elicited by diligent labour and thought, cutting the natural diamonds into gems that unite the work of God and man. See Isaiah xlii, 19.

prophecy is an evil as a permanent institution, and is only adapted, like the law of Sinai, for beginning a work of graduated progress from a lower to a higher condition. Therefore, "It shall come to pass in that day (of universal restitution), saith the Lord of Hosts, that I will cause *the Prophets and the unclean spirit* to pass out of the land. And it shall come to pass in that day that the Prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision when he hath prophesied, neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive." Such is the doom of prophecy, like the doom of the law of Moses, when the Divine humanity is elevated above that puerile state of tutelage, in which it is either not capacitated or not permitted to think for itself, but subjected to the authority and dictation of an exoteric spirit which overwhelms its understanding and precludes the use of reason by means of visions and mysteries which fill it with apprehensions, and drive it by threats and promises, objurgations and remonstrances, instead of gently leading it by the exercise of reason and the results of experience. Prophecy, therefore, or voice and vision revelation, is a spiritual bondage—the manna of the wilderness, not the corn of the land. The corn is the production of the Divine humanity, God and man united in labour; but prophecy is a gift that comes without labour and cloyes the appetite, like the manna, at last, so that the Gentiles also, as well as the Hebrews, exclaim—"Our souls abhor this manna." The Divinity with-

out the humanity is always imperfect in relation to man. Corn, as God sends it, is only food for cattle. Man threshes it and grinds it, and bakes it before he uses it; and so it is with the Word, which is the corn, as it grows. They who eat it in the letter, grain, husks, and straw, are little the better for it, as all sectarianism evinces; nor can it ever be relished as food for man until the humanity interprets, translates, and adapts it for its own proper and nutritious consumption. In its simple state, as raw material, it is communicated to nations chiefly in primitive times, or in a condition of incipient reformation and uneducated simplicity, and not unfrequently to infatuated, imbecile, and weak-minded persons, the reverse of such as our poets and painters have chosen to represent the Prophets and the Seers of Israel. But, though evil as an ultimate, it is good as a primary, and therefore, of all nations in the world, none have impressed the image of their respective missions more deeply upon the future than the Jews and the Greeks; the one being early trained by means of the oracle of the one Jehovah, which treats of the destiny of man collectively, and the other by the riddles and dark sayings of the oracles of the gods, which treat only of local and individual interests in mystic speech, and to which, perhaps, as much as to any other cause, the early Greeks were indebted for that metaphysical acumen which no nation ever yet possessed without being previously drilled in the discipline of mystery.

Of the special mission of the prophets we shall say but a word. Of the thousands that appeared successively in ancient Israel, it is more than probable that the greater portion were visionaries or clairvoyants of inferior order. The appearance of a great prophet was a rarity, and Moses and Elijah stand conspicuous above all in repute for their acknowledged amount of inspiration. Yet Elijah has left no writings, and no sayings or doctrines of an elevated character. He appears to have been only a powerful political and religious check upon the profligacy of his age, with no prospective mission to posterity ; but, because of his power and authority as a worker of miracles, and an influential reprovcr and reformer of his age, he occupies a higher place than any of the prophets who have left their words on record, the Lawgiver of Israel alone excepted. . He was a man of the times, a triumphant apostle who defied and escaped persecution, the best model of a messenger of Heaven, who is of little use to his own age if he comes with weakness, and is subdued by power instead of exercising it. The writing prophets are the weak men who had the hard and disagreeable work to do ; and, having little or no influence with their own age, they addressed themselves to posterity, pronounced the fate of Judah and Israel, and of all the neighbouring nations ; foretold the desolation that was coming on all Western Asia ; all the cities and

kingdoms of the old Jewish and Pagan civilisation, and the advent, in the latter days, of a new era, in which "justice shall flow down the streets as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream." These were the men who successively suggested, in very ambiguous and indefinite language, the doctrine of the Messiah's reign, and drew those rich and glowing descriptions of the regenerated earth which have served as a basis ever since upon which to rest the hopes of the Church, and been a fruitful source of contention and controversy amongst the various sects and professors of the faith. For the Jewish Prophets, as representatives of a juvenile state of society, never transcended the earthly and material in their descriptions of redemption, never aspired beyond the surface of the earth in their hopes of a future paradise. "The Lord dwelleth in heaven, but the earth hath he given to the children of men," was their motto, and there is no indication in their writings that they ever encouraged in others the hope of anything better than a terrestrial existence. But they sometimes hinted, in ambiguous terms, at a higher and more spiritual edition of the law of God than that of Moses, and of purer and more perfect ordinances than his, and thus darkly, cautiously, and almost imperceptibly prepared the nation for accepting a spiritual philosophy and commentary upon the law which began to take root in the national mind, from the time that it was dispersed in captivity

amongst the nations, where it seems to have accepted in part the Greek and Babylonian spiritualism along with the Greek and Chaldean languages, and to have thus attained the first stage of puberty, or manhood, a metamorphic state, about the time when prophecy resigned its dictatorship, and the canon of the national scriptures was completed, never more to be enlarged by any revelation of the old character.

SCENE FIFTH.

HEBREW ARTISTS.

The Hebrew was forbidden, by the stern and inexorable mandate of the law, to take up the mission of the Greek. He was even taught to despise it. It was a sin for him to have a statue or a picture in his possession. He had only one temple in his native land, and no religious motive to cultivate the ideal in the service of the sanctuary. The tabernacle was finished by Moses, the temple by Solomon, and no other tabernacle, no other temple, was ever thought of. The fine arts in Jewry were like a bird in its passage over a great lake: they could scarcely find a spot for their feet to light upon. In primitive times the heathen all around regarded the art of sculpture as an art that was consecrated to idolatry. The likeness of a man was, even in the early history of Greece,

considered illegitimate in all sacred statuary, and beneath the dignity of a god to assume. The sacred images were all symbolical. The human head and the body of a beast or a fish, the horns of an ox or the ears of an ass, the human leg with the foot of a goat, or the human arm with the claws of a beast or a bird of prey, were sacred forms amongst all the Gentiles. The Jews had no other idea, therefore, of statues than as heathen gods and dangerous temptations for themselves and their children, and were forbidden by prophets and sages to carve them. The figures of the cherubim and the oxen of the temple, and the sculptured lions of Solomon's Palace, are only exceptions which demonstrate the rule, for the artists were brought from a neighbouring country, and the works were ever after forbidden to be imitated. "All those things," says Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel, "which are esteemed holy in the presence of God, or idea of man, may not be imitated in any known form or shape, although made *without* the intention of adoring them, so as to preclude the possibility of their being worshipped or deified hereafter. Thus the figure of the Divine chariot, which Ezekiel saw, may not be made, *nor the likeness of angels, of any degree, nor of man*, for these creatures are all superior, from being made in the image of God. On this account the Hebrews would not admit the statue of Caius into the Temple, alleging that it would be breaking the laws of their country.

This prohibition also applies to everything appertaining to the Holy Temple, and no house may be built of its size or proportions." These restrictions are not, perhaps, adhered to by modern Jews, because it is supposed they are not now required ; but they are sufficient to prove the fact of an interdict upon Israelitish art, for they forbid the exercise of artistic talent in its most exalted forms.

But this restriction was not absolute, neither does it apply to all the arts, for this would have reduced the people to barbarism. In poetry and music the Hebrews not only enjoyed great latitude, but their religion was adapted for enriching these noble arts with the most sublime and beautiful imagery and melody. The sacred music of the Hebrews is, no doubt, the source of that of the whole Christian world. Our own sublimest songs and strains may be traced back to the temple and the tabernacle. There is nothing more elevated in the whole world of poetry than the Hebrew Psalmody. Modern poetry only reaches the sublime, by using the imagery of the ancient model. "Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully ; he shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation. This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob ! Lift up your heads, O ye gates ! and be ye lifted up,

ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? Jehovah strong and mighty, Jehovah mighty in battle." The grandeur of such a pæan as this so greatly surpasses that of all pagan songs in honour of gods or heroes, or the pretty juvenilities of amorous passion, employed in the worship of Divine Humanities, amongst the heathen, that it could not fail to give an elevation of mind to the sages of Israel of a very peculiar character amid the surrounding poetry of the nations. And nothing has ever yet surpassed it. The richest subjects for modern oratorios are still to be found in the history of Israel, and the richest phraseology in the writings of the Hebrews. They stood on the summit of the mountain. They sang the praises of the Eternal One. The highest idea, is that One, and we have not yet discovered a phraseology or an imagery more perfect than theirs to describe his perfections or exalt our ideas of his greatness. Mingled as it is with great and self-evident imperfections from which our feelings revolt—such as curses uttered against enemies, and fearful representations of God as a man of war delighting in battle—perfectly intelligible and beautiful in the estimation of the ancients, but requiring translation into a higher meaning to give satisfaction to modern feelings—there is, notwithstanding, nothing of our own that we can substitute in preference; for the Psalmody of the

Hebrews occupies the throne of music, and even its very defects must be treated with reverence, until its final translation be effected by a successor as highly commissioned and authoritative as itself. It comes from the Mount, and only another mountain, elevated still higher, on the tops of all mountains, can ever supersede the native mountain of sacred music.

The Songs of Solomon were a thousand and five. But their inspiration was probably of an inferior order to that which has been transmitted to us, or they would have been preserved. Had they not been lost, they would have been compiled with the other scriptures, for the Old Testament is a compilation of all the extant literature of the old Hebrews, the entire literature of a people. "I gat me men singers and women singers," says Solomon, "and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts." And these, no doubt, over and above the thousands that were employed in the sanctuary. So that the art of music must have been earnestly and enthusiastically cultivated by the Jews, whilst the sacred ritual of those primitive times did not disdain to accompany the music of the sanctuary with the dance, and thus to praise the Lord with the whole body. David himself considered it his duty to dance before the ark, though one of his wives esteemed it indecorous, from which we conclude that the practice of dancing

in religious worship had fallen into disrepute before David's time, and was by him revived and dignified by his personal example.

"Praise God with trumpets' sound ;
 His praise with psaltery advance ;
 With timbrel, harp, stringed instruments
 And organs, in the dance."*

Hence the prophets, in the true spirit of the national habits and customs, delineate the happiness and glory of the final terrestrial redemption, the only redemption of which they had any idea, by means of imagery in which the dance does not fail to occupy a prominent and conspicuous place. At the end of the Drama, when Israel is restored and the dispersed of Judah are gathered into one, "they shall come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, the young men and the old together," and "the soul of the Priest shall be satiated with fatness," and "clothed with salvation," whilst "the poor shall be satisfied with bread."—"For great is God's goodness, and great is his beauty. Corn shall make the young men cheerful and new wine the maids."

It is the simplest and most juvenile idea of redemption, a glimpse from the top of Pisgah into the Land of Promise, a juvenile glimpse, and appre-

* Psalm 150, Scotch version. Selected because it has more of the original than the English versions have.

hended with juvenile understanding, and delineated with juvenile phraseology ; but beautiful and pictorial, true to the feelings of a simple and undeveloped people, and susceptible of translation into a series of higher and higher meanings in proportion to the graduated scale of intelligence distinguishing those who attempt to read it.

SCENE SIXTH.

GENERAL REVIEW.

Having now sketched in outline the general character of the first act of the Divine Drama, it is easy to understand why all its performance must be a failure regarded as an ultimate. It is merely the beginning of a great movement, a special work assigned to a special people, and destined only to find its real meaning when the special missions of other peoples are successively completed, and all are brought to act simultaneously and consentaneously, as in human dramas, on the stage together. To effect this purpose, the people to whom the mission is given must be preserved to represent the mission amongst the nations to the last ; because it is of so peculiar a character that it cannot combine with discordance, like the Greek philosophy and art, but stands out in isolated solitude as a protesting principle against all civilisation which is

not governed by a Divine law, to the end of time. Its mission only ceases and combines with other missions when these other missions find a Divine principle in their legislation which will entitle them to call it the Law of God. The Jews will then cease to be special or isolated, cease to be Jews, and the Gentiles cease to be Gentiles. But, until that great crisis arrives, the special people must "dwell alone, and cannot be reckoned amongst the nations." They are the rock, and they cannot be scattered; and yet they are scattered, for they are the sand. But all truth is bi-polar, having an obverse and reverse meaning, and the highest wisdom is always taught by means of apparent contradictions. They are scattered in person, but compact in spirit; scattered, but not lost. Not even the Ten Lost Tribes are lost, for they are mixed with the Gentiles, and by this mixture the Gentiles and all the world become Israel. By what other means than this very simple and beautiful expedient could the universal unity be genealogically accomplished, and all mankind comprehended in the sole name of Israel?

Two tribes alone were restored after the great captivity; but after the Restoration a singular change is apparent in the nation. A new era commences, entirely different from the former. That which preceded the captivity was the era of the prophets, the era of Divine Revelation. This which succeeds the captivity is the era of the Rabbis, the era of human interpretation, the Divinity and the

humanity in chronological order! There is no appearance of schools of criticism, philosophy, or theology before the captivity; no sects and parties, such as Pharisees and Sadducees, Essenes, &c.; not even Rabbis or Doctors of the Law. But, immediately after the captivity, all these various symptoms of the Logos, or logical principle, which is the true characteristic of humanity, make their appearance. The nation had evidently contracted, and appropriated, in its captivity, a portion of the Gentile spirit of private judgment; that is, humanity, the Logos. It had learned the languages of the Chaldeans and the Greeks, and adopted many of their ideas and their modes of reasoning, and applied them to the interpretation of the sacred writings. And having thus closed the canon of Scripture, by advancing from childhood to puberty, we find ever after this a succession of schools, and sects, and Rabbis, and Doctors, superadding to the original Divinity of the Word their own humanity, to give a definite form to its meaning. For it is the character of Divinity to be indefinite—even as God is without form—and revelation, in perfect harmony with its incorporeal source, takes the indefinite character, and seeks its form, or its ultimate and satisfactory meaning, in the human understanding, as a spirit its body in the material world. This era of the humanity of the Jewish mission lasted till the great political and final dispersion, and the two great principles which thus characterise the

whole twofold mission, were personified at last, or summed up in the character of that mysterious personage whose most appropriate description is the Divine Humanity, the embodiment of the two natures, the human and the Divine. In this respect he typifies the entire mission of the people amongst whom he appeared ; and it is a remarkable feature of that New Testament to which he gave birth, that it is rather a *logical* comment on than a continuation of the Old Testament. It is the humanity combining with the Divinity, and giving it a more intelligible form and character. But not being final, there is merely the bare semblance of interpretation, the true meaning being reserved for the end.

Meanwhile the logical mission of the Greeks runs parallel with that of the Jews, and dovetails chronologically with it. But there is this difference between the two : that whereas the logic of the Jews is confined to the interpretation of an absolute and a limited law, the logic of the Greeks is free to range over the boundless expanse of the unlimited law, the law of the Revelation of God in Nature. It is therefore more logical, more human, than that of the Jews. It is the logical, as the Jewish is the Divine or absolute, mission of the Drama ; for even the human type of liberty of judgment, which is revealed in Jewish history after the captivity, is more absolute than any other school of logic, not even excepting that of the Turks, which now occu-

pies its place. The absolute, which distinguishes divinity from humanity, characterises the Jewish character throughout, whether as the recipient of an absolute law, or its reverent, its timid and restricted interpreter ; whilst the Greek, on the contrary, is unfettered, unrestricted, unappalled, and, like the wild Arab on the plain of the Syrian desert, or the horse, which is the hieroglyph of human intelligence, despising confinement in walls and towns, and civilised imprisonment in private estates, he makes the hemisphere of earth and heaven his home, and owns no walls but those which touch the horizon.

ACT SECOND.—*The Greek Missions.*

SCENE FIRST.

THE ISLES OF GREECE AND THE GREEKS.

A NEW people, the representatives of a new idea, now come forth, to develop in their history the recondite principles of the Divine Drama. The first people represented absolute, unprogressive law; this new people are identified with the principle of progressive and productive liberty. The Jews were curbed and restrained, and limited in their sphere of intellectual activity, by the imperative dictates of a precept supposed to be eternal, and therefore inviolable. The Greeks were authorised, by the total absence of such a check upon voluntary action, to elaborate a scheme of civilisation for themselves, by the self-determining agency of their own understandings. It would be wrong, however, to suppose, that, because there was no apparent aid from the Absolute One, there was none in reality. The idea of a Divine Drama will not admit of this exceptional supposition. The mission of the Greeks is as genuine, as real, and as indispensable for the final realisation of the Divine idea, as the mission of the Hebrews. But it is a logical mission, in which the mind apparently works

with its own unaided resources, unrestrained by absolute and direct interference, but indisputably guided by an equal amount of providential direction, as if it were commanded by voice and vision. The pro-logical and the logical aspects of Revelation are very different ; at first contradictory and apparently irreconcilable, but ultimately accordant. The one addresses itself to the mind, as if it were a foreign and distinct power ; the other co-operates with it as if it were itself. The one subdues and imprisons the understanding, the other liberates and exercises it.

Now, of all the geographical districts of the world, whether in the Eastern or the Western hemisphere, there is none so admirably adapted, in all its peculiarities, for promoting the cultivation of social intercourse in a state of intellectual, political, moral, and religious liberty—the liberty demanded in this new phasis of history—as the Grecian Isles, and the Grecian Peninsulas, the classical region of the *Ægean* Sea. In no other part of the world is so large an amount of coast line contained within so small a territorial surface. The islands innumerable of the Archipelago, the peninsulas, almost equal to islands, of the *Ægean* Coast of Asia minor, colonised with Greeks, and chiefly known by the name of *Ionian*—the birthplace of Genius—and the peninsulas of Greece and of *Magna Græcia*, the South-east of Italy, colonised with Greeks, are so admirably adapted for young navigation, com-

mercial intercourse, and political activity, that one might instinctively point the finger to that spot upon the globe as the cradle of "the arts of war and peace." Bays and creeks, capes and promontories, and harbours innumerable, make that region a juvenile map of the earth. It is a little world, as Europe itself is a greater—a model of the great globe itself, designed by a wise and paternal artist to facilitate the acquisition of the arts of life, that spring from the social and commercial intercourse of men. Divided into numerous little spirited communities of kingdoms, republics, and municipalities, rivals in trade, in art, in power, leaguings, quarrelling, fighting, and diplomatising, bristling with spears and masts, ringing with the music of Mars and Venus, charming with poetry and thrilling with eloquence, teeming with inhabitants, studded with cities, yellow with cornfields, and purple with vineyards, vigorous with industry and inexhaustible in resources, Greece was then the newly planted acorn of civilisation; and the intellect of the Greeks was furnished with opportunities which exceeded those of all other nations, when the world was little and the arts were young.

Observe the divisional character of this locality. This is its characteristic: it is the type of the Gentiles, as distinct from the Jews. It is competition, rivalry, division and subdivision, indefinite. God is no longer one and indivisible, but innumerable; law is no longer absolute, but expedient;

policy is no longer fixed, but mutable. Analysis begins ; the solid mass of unity is broken into fragments, and each piece becomes a vigorous and independent organisation. Life is multiplied, action increases ; reaction follows ; body and mind, spirit and soul, are all alike imbued with extraordinary energy ; genius flows, intelligence beams. Island calls to island, and cape and promontory respond to one another ; cities enter the list with cities, and compete for the prizes of mind and body ; and no other restraints but those of the common humanity prevent the development of any idea to which genius gives birth.

It is the land of young Liberty ; but still the region is primitive and fundamental in its character. It is a great plutonic, and once volcanic, region. Lava, scorixæ, and tufa abound on its surface. We have not yet left the basis of civilisation ; but we have begun to break up and analyse its parts. Rich in all the materials of art—in metals for implements, in stone for building, in marble for statuary, in wood for furniture—all at hand and easy of acquisition, it looks as if an all-foreseeing spirit had previously upheaved that singularly rude and chance-looking region, expressly on purpose to establish a school for teaching young men the elements of science and art. Everything required is within their reach. A little bark or skiff or raft is enough to send a supply from one little nation or clan to another ; but the bark soon grows

into a towering vessel, and the raft is transformed into a huge trireme. Rivalry creates necessity, and necessity becomes the mother of invention ; and variety of material, acquired with little difficulty, facilitates progress by encouraging labour.

SCENE SECOND.

POETS, LEGISLATORS, AND ORACLES.

The history of the Greeks begins with song, the measured verse that pleases the ear and assists the memory. Their laws were originally written in verse. Religion was taught in verse, and even in their ordinary discourse, as Longinus affirms, verse was usually preferred to prose. Lost in the mazes of traditional and fabulous history, the lives of the early poets of Greece cannot be traced, and their works are erased from the records of fame. Who was Linus, who brought letters into Greece and wrote of the generation of all things, invented catgut strings for the lyre, and taught Hercules the alphabet, we know not ; or who was Anthes his contemporary, or Pemonoe the priestess of Apollo, who invented hexameter verse ; or Pamphos, who first sang of the Graces ; or Orpheus, the lawgiver, poet and prophet, so renowned by some and reviled by others, like Diogenes Laertius, who calls him a barbarian because he was a Thra-

cian and represented the gods as possessed of human frailties ; or Musæus, the pupil of Orpheus, who, according to the same authority, was an Athenian, and the first who taught the genealogy of the gods ; or Synagrus, who wrote before Homer himself of the siege of Troy ; or Melampus, who wrote the whole history and transactions of the gods ; or Olen, who composed the first hymns sung in Delos at the solemnities which Homer himself frequented ; or Thymœtes, the author of the Phrygian Poems ; or Amphion, the reputed inventor of the Lydian measure ; or Marsyas, the inventor of the Phrygian measure and double flute ; or Olympus, the inventor of the dirge or funeral song, a poet extolled by Aristotle as rapturous and impassioned ; or Thamyras, who wrote a cosmogony ; or Orœbantius, the Theban epic poet ; or Milesander, the Milesian ; or Palæphatus, who sang the generation of Apollo and Diana, the voice and speech of Venus and love, as well as a cosmogony, in five thousand verses. Of all these we know nothing, except that they are said to have lived and sung of the gods and their genealogy and the mysteries of creation and providence, before even Homer himself began to commit to writing his immortal verses. Herodotus seems to be of a different opinion when he says, that Hesiod and Homer were the first who framed a theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods, and assigned to them honours and arts, and declared their several forms. But he says this, as

he informs us, on his own authority, and in the same breath he contradicts himself by informing us, that the Pelasgians, or Primitive Greeks, first worshipped the gods without names, then consulted the oracle of Dodona whether they should adopt the names that came from barbarians. To which the oracle assented. "From that time," says Herodotus, "they adopted the names of the gods in their sacrifices, and afterwards the Greeks received them from the Pelasgians." Moreover, he does not hesitate, in another place, to affirm that Melampus the poet first taught the Greeks the name and sacrifices of Bacchus, three hundred years before the Trojan war. The apparent contradiction may be removed by supposing the works of the elder poets either to have been lost or entirely superseded by the superior authority or elegant style of Homer and Hesiod.

These two illustrious men did much to establish the system of mythology in Greece. That they invented it themselves is unreasonable to suppose. The true poet expresses the feelings, social superstitions, and moral and religious principles of the age in which he lives. The Jupiter and Juno, the Pallas and Venus, Vulcan and Apollo, of the *Iliad*, can be nothing more or less than artistical sketches of the popular gods and goddesses of that name. The liberties the poet has taken with the character of such divinities must in some measure be compatible with the prevailing opinion respecting them, although it is probable that Homer

exceeded the bounds of social decorum ; for the people of Athens, according to Heraclides, fined him fifty drachmas for being a madman. This sentence seems to have been confirmed in some degree by Socrates and Plato, for we find in Plato's "Republic" severe animadversions on the prince and the parent of epic poetry, for the scandalous and impious details respecting the sexual propensities, the hypocritical and mendacious habits of the gods, and the fearful pictures of death and Hades, with which he has polluted the pages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ; thus not only pandering to human passion and corrupting human morals, but degrading religion in the estimation of the wise and the good, and making death, which is the inevitable lot of all, an object of terror to the soul, and the cause of cowardice to men in struggling with misfortune and inexorable fate. "To say that God, who is good, is the cause of ill to any one," says Socrates, in Plato's "Republic"—"this we must by all means oppose, and suffer no one to say so in our state." Here lies the secret of the difference between the poets and the philosophers. The poets, Epic, Lyric, Pastoral and Dramatic, ascribed evil to the gods, as the source of all things, and the representatives of all natural agents. The philosophers, in general, objected to this, and called it impiety. But the religion of the poets is the religion of nature and the oldest form of theology. We find it more and more definitely and boldly expressed the farther

back we go in the history of humanity. "Shall we receive good at the hands of God," says the Patriarch Job, "and shall we not receive evil?" In saying this, moreover, we are expressly told that Job sinned not with his lips, nor charged God foolishly. Moses talks with great composure of the Lord hardening Pharaoh's heart, nor deems it even necessary to explain himself. It was the theology of his age. Homer belongs to the same school of primordial faith, and Father Jove is represented by him as in like manner distributing both good and evil.

"Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood,
The source of evil one, and one of good ;
From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
Blessings to these, to those distributes illa.
To most he mingles both," &c.

"This must not be allowed in our Republic," say Socrates and Plato ; and the philosophers in general say the same, though Zeno the Stoic has extolled the character of Homer so highly as almost to make a deity of him, and to invest his writings with an infallibility and a sanctity to be paralleled only in the writings of Jewish and Christian Revelation. The Stoics, however, were fatalists, and, like the Calvinists, endeavoured by great logical efforts to harmonise the two ideas of liberty and necessity, by making one a cork in the ocean of the other, and giving God the authorship without the responsibility of evil.

And, certainly, if anything in high literature and

art can be said to be inevitable, it is this: that a mythology which consists of a personification of the powers of Nature must represent its divinities as natural beings—a truism which Plato and Socrates, with all their acuteness, seem not to have perceived; or, avoiding it altogether, they affirmed that the poet should be an eclectic poet and personify only the good powers, and not the natural combination of the good and the evil, the light and shade of the moral world. This would have paralysed mythology on one side, and destroyed a whole hemisphere of thought. It is impossible that genius could live and act with vigour and efficiency under such a law of Platonic and Socratic imposition compelled by the civil magistrate to paint pictures of lights without shades. The bipolarity of Good and Evil exists in Nature like light and shadow, and the poet, as an artist, must necessarily copy both and represent Nature, not as he would have it to be, but as it is: and it is by copying it as it is, and not as a theorist would make it, that he improves his taste and fulfils his mission. The Poets did their duty as natural dramatists by the juvenile inspiration of their art; and they sought that escape which neither poetry nor philosophy could find from profanity or absurdity, by graduating the scale of their divinities, and reserving for each his appropriate office in the Great Ministry of Nature. The Poets of Plato and Socrates, had the model bards of the Philosophical republic been

realised, would have been greater fools than Homer, though it is probable enough that they would have escaped the fine of fifty drachmas for being madmen : perhaps not the cup of hemlock for being Atheists and denying the *divine humanity* of the gods.

The Divine Humanity is the grand idea that pervades all the great missions, and is slowly and gradually developed by the Almighty Father in the Unitary Mission of the Jews, and the All-productive Mother in the Divisional Missions of the Nations. But, in the early ages of each mission, it naturally appears in its lowest and most physical or sensual aspect. The humanity is almost concealed from the Jews. Nevertheless, the Deity appears to them in human form, as an Absolute One, and promises to come as a man and fight for their pre-eminence. On the contrary, to the Gentiles it is the humanity that is most clearly revealed ; whilst the Divinity is veiled and covered with the infirmities and passions of the flesh. Even mighty Jove himself is exhausted with sensual indulgence, and

“ At length with love and sleep’s soft power oppressed,
The panting Thunderer nods and sinks to rest.”

This is the character of Jove and all the gods and goddesses in the early ages. It is Homer’s Jove, and the Jove of the age in which he lived ; but it is not the Jove of Socrates, of Cicero, or of Plutarch. These men had worked at the *meta-physical* Problem of Good and Evil, and entangled themselves in

its meshes, and suspended themselves between the two eternal principles of the Magian Theology, struggling in alternate force and weakness, victory and defeat, with each other for ever. They had separated the good from the evil, and called the one God and the other Nature, or anything, without combining them in one like the Poets, though they found them in Nature ever combining and ever wrestling together, like Jacob and Esau, in each other's bosom. The Poets were the true artists ; for, though their gods are less divine, in the vulgar acceptation of the term, as expressive of something infinitely powerful and passionless, which complacently looks at, lives in, and maintains, evil without causing it (an unintelligible theory) they are more natural and artistically true as representatives of the Powers of Nature, analysed and adapted for pictorial and dramatic effect or popular comprehension ; and to this day the Jupiter of Homer is a more consistent being, in every man's mind, than the God of the philosopher, who is omnipresent, but has nothing specially to do with anything ; or the God of the sectarian fanatic, who is with him and his party, and not with his opponents ; or even than the God of Frederick the Second, who was always on the strongest and never on the weakest side of a contest.

The poets of Greece did not solve the problem of good and evil ; but they stated it, and stated it better, *i. e.*, more artistically, than the philosophers,

who also have left it unsolved. However, what the philosophers object to in the statement of this great problem by the poets, that it is dangerous to morality, is true. The Heathen naturally concluded that he might do what the Gods did: "Deus mihi impulsor fuit,"—"It was a God who moved me," as the violator of a virgin in Plautus's *Aulularia*, says. Hence the lasciviousness of certain rites of certain gods. This was inevitable as the result of an artistic religion without moral government. But the poets perceived this, and provided, or endeavoured to provide, against the evil by their frightful descriptions of Hades and Tartarus, "threatening endless punishments that await the wretched ghost below," as Timæus Locrus, Plato's master, writes, "with all the torments which the Ionic poet (Homer) has *laudably, and from ancient tradition*, represented the souls of wicked men to endure hereafter. For, as sometimes, when wholesome remedies will not prevail, we procure health by administering a sickening poison, so we curb the stubborn and disobedient by *false* relations when the *true* have no effect. Of necessity, therefore, the foreign torments must be inculcated. And it must be told that Nemesis, the distributive and avenging power, hath appointed all these things to happen in the second period (or nether world), and to be executed by fierce infernal genii who witnessed the conduct and the crimes of men. To them the all-governing God hath committed the administration of the

world, which consists of gods and men, and of the other animals he himself hath formed after the perfect model of the eternal and intellectual idea." In other words, Timæus, finding the people deceived on one side of the brain, would deceive them on the other, merely to preserve their sanity, as the golden-mouthed Chrysostom hath said : "He is justly called a deceiver who uses the method unjustly, not he who does this with a sane mind. It is often useful to deceive, and thus give great assistance." The monstrosities of the bane and the antidote of mythology were, no doubt, corrective of each other. Things naturally find their own level ; and we trust more to this natural necessity of equilibrium than to any critical judgment of our own, when we quietly and confidently come to the decision that the faith of the poets, being artistically correct in principle as a picture of nature, had light and shade sufficient to countervail each other when skilfully distributed.

What the fables of the poets failed to accomplish was attempted by the legislators in the mysteries of the gods. These, we are told, were the most sacred of all rites, and it was death to reveal their secrets. They were held in the highest estimation, and spoken of only with fear and reverence for many generations ; and the Eleusynian mysteries held a high moral reputation long after many of the rest were corrupted, as they gradually lost their influence through the critical boldness of

the philosophers and the fearless waggery of the wits in the treatment of all theological questions. These mysteries were lesser and greater. In the lesser the initiated were taught the doctrine of a special providence, and the first step out of paganism ; namely, that the gods of the people were nothing more than deified heroes, canonised saints—a system differing only in the name and character of the canonised from that which prevails in Roman Christendom. This was an elevation, and therefore every man who was initiated was esteemed superior to the mob in wisdom, but bound in honour to retain his secret. The greater mysteries led the initiated out of paganism entirely, by revealing the great secret of the one supreme, silent, unrevealing God—a secret vaguely, indefinitely, and perhaps incredibly known to the heathen, but not adapted for worship, and therefore not proclaimed either by priest or magistrate, and only discussed as a theoretical problem in the schools of the philosophers.

This mystical and contemplative system of theology, this worshipless and passionless form of religion, was chiefly adapted for the higher classes, who aimed at *paulo majora*, things a little higher than the vulgar. But the Legislators, who comprehended the lowest and the highest in their moral discipline, were all anxious to impress the people with a belief that they were inspired by some speaking or finite God, never by the infinite or supreme. None but Moses proclaimed himself

the messenger of the One, and he gave him a voice and a form. Amasis and Mnevis, Lawgivers of the Egyptians, received their laws from Mercury ; Zoroaster, of the Bactrians, and Zamolxis, of the Getes, from Vesta ; Zathraustes, of the Arimaspi, from a good spirit ; Rhadamanthus, and Minos of Crete, and Lycaon of Arcadia, from Jupiter ; Triptolemus, of the Athenians, from Ceres ; Pythagoras and Zaleucus, of the Crotoniates and Locrians, from Minerva ; Lycurgus, of the Spartans, from Apollo ; Romulus, from Consus, and Numa from Egeria ; so says Bishop Warburton. Nor was this imposture in the vulgar sense of the word. It was consistent with the purest faith. Lycurgus completed his laws before he received the response of the oracle respecting them. He went to Delphos to inquire, and the oracle answered that the laws were excellent, and would make the people who obeyed them the most glorious in the world. In other words, the God adopted and sanctioned them. This answer was, most probably to his mind, a genuine response from Heaven ; for the oracles in the primitive times were universally believed and respected.

The oracles were of the greatest service to the Greeks, not only in stimulating their wits, but in cultivating their hearts and their natural piety, and reviving their drooping courage in the day of trouble ; whilst numerous miracles and providential interferences, and responses in critical emer-

gencies, from time to time confirmed and maintained their faith in the sacred institutions, notwithstanding their palpable imperfections, and many suspicious features. At the same time they preserved the living flame of religion, that so beautifully characterises the early historians of Greece, whose faith in Divine Providence at the helm of mundane government so thoroughly pervades every record that they make, that Herodotus and Thucydides may indeed be regarded as sacred historians ; whilst our modern Christian Recorders of Events, falsely denominated classical writers, are well entitled to the name that they have chosen to distinguish them in the lists of authors, where they can never be recognised in any other capacity than that of profane historians. Such historians never mention the name of God, or refer the course of events to His providence, but regard Him only as a sleeping God, in the bosom of a universe that goes by machinery, maintained in motion by dead impulse. The self-evident faith of the ancients in the oracles and providence of the gods, sufficiently justifies the legislators, who professed to be guided by Divine inspiration : and perhaps the wisest man is he who acknowledges the fact ; for inspiration is an agency graduated infinitely with greater and less degrees of imperfection, and never was, is, or can be what the vulgar esteem it. The poets are nearer the truth, in their estimate of the Divine Afflatus.

SCENE THIRD.

SCULPTORS, PAINTERS, ARCHITECTS, ETC.

We have already seen that the Jew was forbidden, by the stringent provisions of his moral and ceremonial law, to exercise his skill in the arts of sculptural and pictorial design. Such restrictions the neighbouring nations did not experience. They were free, and their freedom developed itself in the most simple and natural manner. The first, and perhaps the most impressive, of all idolatrous worship is that of the fetich, which is merely a simple, natural object ; it may be a stone, a tree, or a mountain, or an animal like the Divine Serpent or the Divine Calf, or a work of art, in which there is little skill displayed, such as the images of Doorga, made of straw, sticks, and clay, or a relic like those of the Roman Church, or a piece of bread, which, by act of consecration, is made a god, and worshipped accordingly with devout reverence. The principle of this worship is involved in every species of consecration ; and it is the spirit of this primitive and simple religion that still solemnises the mind of the Christian, who partakes of the Eucharist, in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation is merely graduated through all the sects of Christendom, differing only from each other like notes in music, in the

name and the interval. It is the same spirit that prefers the churchyard, or the church itself, to the open field as a place of final rest; that makes devout pilgrimage to Holy Places, and takes off the hat in reverence as it enters the precinct of a building devoted to public worship. It is akin to the old and the natural worship of the *Deus Loci*, or god of the place or object. Such ideas appear to be everlasting, and can only disappear in one or other of two ultimates—the faith of an Omnipresent Spirit, who is no respecter of persons, places, or objects, or in the absence of all religious faith whatsoever. They are of immemorial antiquity, and the analogue of the Roman Mass is to be found in every religion under heaven. The artistic addition of a shape to these objects of worship was made progressively and gradually, like the act of Divine creation itself, beginning at the lowest, and rising up to the highest at last. The first attempts at statuary were Hermæ, or blocks or stones, with heads alone, without legs or arms, like the idol Juggernaut. Afterwards arms or wings, or the bodies of different animals, were added, and symbolical images came into being. To give a god the entire shape of the human form was considered for many ages irreverent. The Oriental nations still preserve this peculiar idea of a characteristic distinction between God and man, and prefer the monstrous to the human form in all their symbolical representatives

of Deity. Monstrosity is power. Even the Roman Catholic populace are not exceptions to this prejudice in favour of some personal deformity in a sacred image ; for it rarely, if ever, happens that a miraculous picture or statue possesses any value as a work of art, but is ever expressive of that infancy of humanity which is unable to represent the super-human by other than the distorted or the monstrous. The Greeks were the first amongst the Gentile nations who dared to represent the gods in a human shape—the first who created the *god-man* in ideal art ; but it was long before even this improvement was permitted in the temples, where the prejudices of Priests and People regarded it as a profanation. It is reported of the Egyptians, that when persuaded by the Greeks to adopt the new system of making gods with their legs apart, they became alarmed at the innovation, and put them in chains, lest they should walk away. A long and a weary struggle was maintained between the fetich and symbolical conservatives on the one hand, and the humanists on the other ; and it was merely because the Greeks had not a law like the Jews to forbid the representation of the gods in a human form, that the humanists at last succeeded in achieving a triumph. Even then the antiquated system in part preserved its existence, and to the last the fetich and the symbol continued to compete with the divine humanity for the patronage of the people. Nor does it appear that the human forms of the

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gods were ever regarded as equal in sanctity or mythological grandeur to their monstrous predecessors: they were too like the human to serve as types or symbols of the superhuman. "The old statues" (said Æschylus the poet, himself a disciple even of the monstrous), "with all their simplicity, are considered divine; whilst the new, with all the care bestowed on their execution, are indeed admired, but bear much less of the impression of divinity." Even the old wooden images that had gone to decay were not replaced by the beautiful creations of an almost perfect art, but by exact fac similes of the antique monstrosity whose very deformities were sacred in the estimation of the devout, and ridiculed only by the irreligious and profane, the philosophical and the skeptical.

It is apparent, therefore, from the history of sacred art amongst the Greeks, that in proportion as they perfected this artistic idea of divine humanity, they lost their regard for their national faith. Art was coming out of superstition, like the plumule from the radix. It was the puberty of Paganism, at which it was prepared to take its flight into higher intellectual and passional regions. Reason and genius discovered the imposition that human imagination had practised upon ignorant and bewildered simplicity. The monsters were ridiculed by the learned and the intelligent, and the perfect models of men and women were merely criticised as specimens of art by the connoisseurs,

without being worshipped by the populace. And thus the cultivation of the art of idolatry became the means, both simple and natural, by which idolatry itself was degraded as a religion. Whilst regarded as the preliminary stage of a great artistic as well as humanising movement, it cannot fail to commend itself to the intelligence of every thinking man as the most simple and direct means of promoting its progress. At least, we know of no better, and cannot conceive another without doing violence to Nature's Laws, which are God's ways ; for, as in creation, so in historical development, the creative mind begins his operations at the meanest and the simplest forms, and works upwards from lower to higher, from worse to better, from ignorance to knowledge, from deformity to beauty ; that is, in the natural historical unfolding of a plan of training for human society, he begins his instructions at the bottom of the scale, and leads his pupil and apprentice man through a graduated series of worse and better conditions. The Jew, in his own characteristic mission, was forbidden to be an idolator ; but the Greek was not : he was only ordained to carve his way through idolatry into art—the mission of his people, and an indispensable part of that intellectual training from which the civilised world of the West has derived its superiority, and without which there was no escape from primitive barbarism.

Few people who look at the statue of a Venus,

an Apollo, a Laocoon, a Hebe or a Cupid, are aware of the influence which that wonderful art, that reproduces such exquisite models of the human form from the solid rock, has had upon the progress of civilisation. Little do they reflect, or even know, that these very statues, and such as these, were amongst the most influential means of civilising the world. The early gods were like the early inhabitants of the globe, fearful monsters with huge mouths and ferocious jaws, like those of Juggernath or Krishna, Doorga and Rama, in India, at the present day—figures that inspired awe and fear, and looked as if nothing but human flesh would satisfy their voracity. Human flesh accordingly was given to them, and human sacrifices were prevalent wherever the monster megalosaurian gods, without legs or arms, with fishes' tails and huge maws, and round, glaring, saucer-looking eyes, inspired the people with a faith in their divinity. But who could offer a human sacrifice to a Venus de Medicis, an Apollo, a trinity of unattired Graces, or a Jupiter Tonans ? There is too much humanity in them to admit of such practices. Juggernath still has his human sacrifices ; for he is a huge piece of timber with a monstrous mouth, and destitute of either legs or arms, a god with nothing but the attribute of voracity. But the Greeks abandoned them when their gods became men and the idea of the Divine Humanity began to germinate. Plutarch informs us that Themistocles

sacrificed unwillingly three Persian youths of great beauty to Bacchus *Omestes*, that is the Raw-flesh-eater, before the battle of Salamis. The Priest proposed, Themistocles was appalled, but the people insisted; and when we consider that the early statues of Bacchus were merely *Hermæ*, or heads horribly sculptured, without hands or feet, and usually accompanied with an obscene symbol, we can easily comprehend the feelings of the people, the conservative Priest and the liberalised and educated Themistocles. But it was not to the statue of the jolly god, the cultivator of corn and the vine, and the civiliser of men, that the sacred murders were perpetrated. It was to the drunken, debauched uproarious old Megalosaurian God of the Priesthood and the vulgar. The new artistic idea of Divinity clothed in humanity, gods made men, as it grew and spread abroad its humanising influence, speedily rendered impossible all such religious horrors as those of Jephtha's daughter and Iphigenia, until they were revived with tenfold horror in the middle ages, when the arts were lost and reached their culminating point in the *autos de fe* of the Spanish Inquisition; for even then the old images of the Saints were frightful monsters, and the new were only beginning to displace their predecessors. Greatly as Greek idolatry and mythology are reviled, we question much if, without their traditional, unperceived, and genial influence, the fires of Smithfield and the horrors of the Inquisition

would not still be a portion of our social and ecclesiastical discipline. Greece, with all her faults, has nursed the young spirit of divine humanity, and inspired the world with the love of the beautiful, which never fails, in due season, to develop the fruits of delicacy, tenderness, and all the other æsthetic refinements of our common nature. It is in perfect harmony with this process of development that we are told in Scripture that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Hence the Prophet Habakkuk represents the God of Israel with "horns coming out of his hands ; before him went the pestilence, burning coals were under his feet." But though fear is the beginning, it is not the end, for love is the fulfilling of the law.

The sculpture of the Greeks has never yet been surpassed. Their painting is lost, and modern painting is a modern creation. Sculpture is limited, and therefore akin to the youth of civilisation. It is the Rock of Art. Painting is expansive and universal, a field of liberty, especially landscape, which embraces the heavens and the earth, and is therefore latest in development. But even in painting the human body, as well as natural scenery, especially the former, we have reason to believe that the Greeks had attained to great excellence ; for the same accuracy of eye in design, and of taste in composition, which produced the statue of a dying Gladiator, or a Laocoon, would not be satisfied with inferior excellence in drawing and

colouring a figure on a flat surface, or in representing the forms and the tints of natural scenery, in obedience to the laws of lineal and aerial perspective. The preference also that is given to painting, in comparison with sculpture, by Greek and Roman writers of distinction, is incontestible evidence of the attainment of great proficiency. But the materials of painting are all perishable. Wood, clay, plaster and paint, parchment and canvass, have not the enduring properties of the rock ; and were it not for the monuments of pictorial art that have been dug from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, little would be known of the painting of the ancients. These, moreover, are only Roman relics, though probably the productions of Greek artists ; yet they prove the fact of great attainment in the art of design, and only leave a doubt respecting the completeness of the knowledge of perspective in the representation of landscapes. Landscape, however, belongs to the latter days of painting, and represents a breadth and universality of idea which do not belong to the school of infancy. Children are not landscape-painters. They begin with men and dogs, horses, and donkeys ; and young nations are rather captivated with the animating representations of heroes and battles, or the sensual imitations of beauty, than the peaceful delineation of natural scenery.

*Imberbis juvenis, tandem custode remoto
Gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi.*

But even in landscape the Greeks must have overcome the preliminary obstacles of natural perspective, as their theatrical scenery was undoubtedly both true and magnificent, and they were scientifically conversant with the points of sight and the points of distance, and the law by which the apparent diminution of objects is governed in receding from the eye.*

The architecture of the Greeks is an artistic Revelation, established like a creed in the minds of the whole civilised world. The Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian edifices cannot be improved. The attempt to surpass them in their own peculiar sphere, which is lower than the Ecclesiastical, seems to be hopeless. For palaces, for temples of science and art, which inherit the spirit of Greece; for assembly-rooms, banqueting-rooms and municipal edifices, which all, more or less, represent that ancient race by whom the arts of social communion were cultivated with an ardour never surpassed in the subsequent history of nations; for chapels also, of secondary rank in the scale of sacred buildings, the

* Thoroughly demonstrated as the laws of perspective now are, how lamentably inattentive artists in general are to its infallible rules! How rarely we see a painting, drawing, or engraving of a landscape, or an interior, without one or more lineal errors which immediately catch the eye, as discords in music, the ear! We must not infer, therefore, from errors in perspective amongst ancient pictures that the principles of perspective were not entirely understood; but one correct and complicated landscape and architectural scene would prove that they were.

Grecian architecture so naturally commends itself to the taste of the modern *civilisé*, that it is generally merely a question of preference which of the three shall be adopted. Their only rival is the Gothic, which is another Revelation of architectural art ; but when one is selected, it is now understood that no alteration of the original model can take place without a corresponding sacrifice of beauty in the proportions of the building.*

* In respect to universality of adaptation, and the combination of the beautiful and the sublime, the useful and the ornamental, the sacred and the domestic, the light and the cheerful, as well as the sombre and the awful, we have no hesitation in giving the preference to the Gothic. It is susceptible of an inconceivable variety of modes and forms, rising up in youth-like elegance in the tall, slender spire, or in majestic magnitude and weight in the massive and gigantic tower ; adapted also for gloom or cheerfulness, ecclesiastical or domestic, by the freedom it indulges in the number and size of its windows, and the slight or the massive character of the mullions and transoms by which their light is measured ; whilst Greek and Roman architecture is not only limited in height, but restricted in forms and proportions, and unsusceptible of that infinite variety of tracery which constitutes the charm of the Gothic, and entitles it to be regarded as the greatest architectural idea which has yet been revealed to the world. But Gothic belongs exclusively to the North-western nations, and is adapted for the landscape and that wider and freer arena which distinguishes the mission of the Atlantic nations. For cities, for streets, and special buildings therein, characteristic of municipal and limited jurisdiction, the Greek architectural idea appears to be final, and destined to hold a secondary rank with the Ecclesiastical for ever.

SCENE FOURTH.

THE DRAMATISTS.

The Greeks were in all things a religious, or, as the Apostle Paul prefers to call them, a superstitious people. But their ideas of the Divine were different from those of the moderns. The modern idea of the Divinity is exclusively grave and solemn, and incompatible with wit and humour. Though He alone created both, it is considered profane to invest him with either. He is therefore supposed to create attributes of genius which do not represent any attribute in himself, or derive inspiration from his influence. The idea of Nature thus becomes more comprehensive than that of its author; and for this reason, and this only, her students are led, by an atheistic habit of mind, which a partial view of Divine agency engenders, away from Theology. Mythology, however, fills up the vacuum which Theology creates; and wit and humour, being denied to the Divine, are now allied to the diabolical. The popular or mythological devil is a witty and a humorous, the natural complement of a serious, personage. In Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* he plays the piper to the dance, and this is in perfect accord with vulgar demonology, and the popular caricatures of the age we live in. So that the drollery of Satan has now,

in public estimation, almost entirely superseded his malice. He is a perfect fac simile of the old Silenus or Pan ; and it is a singular fact, that he is popularly regarded as faithful and true to his word. It is also remarkable, that by common consent in Christendom, to all sacred personages laughter, humour, fun and wit are gravely denied. In the popular idea of heaven they would be regarded as intrusive and irreverent. Even saints on earth are austere disrobed of all such attributes. It is a common saying throughout all Christendom, "Jesus never laughed." The sacred writers of the Old Testament represent the Almighty as laughing, mocking and scorning, but not in mirth. He laughs at the Gentiles, their kings and rulers, conspiring against Him. He laughs also at the calamity of his faithless and apostate people, and mocks when their fear cometh on them ; but ever grave and awful, never light and frivolous, cheerful or witty. The Drama seems excluded from the Jewish mission.

The Greek idea of Divinity included everything in humanity. It contained the archetypes of all existing attributes in men, and even of many in animals. But the earliest forms of this idea were necessarily rude, like the Megatherian and Megalosaurian forms of progressive creation. The gods were, therefore, in primitive ages, invested with all the attributes of unrefined humanity, and even brutality, for they demanded human sacrifices—

Saturn ate his own children—once invested, they were not easily clothed anew. They loved and hated, leagued and quarrelled, wooed and seduced, joked and railed, laughed and frowned, lied and perjured themselves, like men and women ; and poets were not regarded as blasphemers, who represented the father of gods and men as a tyrant who was doomed to be dethroned at no very distant period. “I care for Jove less than nothing,” says Prometheus Bound, “let him go on and lord it for this brief space, even as he lists, for not long shall he rule over the gods.” He predicts for Jove the fate of Saturn, who was dethroned for his monstrous tyranny. The old gods were like the old statues, human deformities ; and the people were not only familiar with such Divine ideas, but regarded them as sacred. Monstrosity of character was indispensable to their crude notions of superhuman agents ; and the idea of progress, reformation and revolution, in heaven, was not ridiculous in their estimation.

To balance this savage and ferocious character, with which they invested an enraged and immortal god of the highest order, there was a corresponding amount of mirth and jollity, and even debauchery, infused into the moral and passional temperament of others. The Satyrs were a race of uproarious buffoons, a low species of gods, with horns, tails, and cloven feet, pot bellies, and jocular looks ; and Bacchus, their prince and leader, was the personification of all that is witty, jovial, social, and

entertaining. This god was by many regarded as the author of civilisation. He first taught the culture of the vine and the cultivation of the earth with oxen. He tamed the ferocious, and therefore his chariot was drawn in concert by a lion and a tiger. He encouraged the utmost liberty of speech, and therefore to him the magpie was consecrated. His festivals were kept with passionate enthusiasm by the Greek nations. Mirth and song, and every species of jovial and boisterous indulgence, were considered appropriate service to the deity. To drink was an obligation ; to be drunk, or mad, or feign to be both, was not a shame. Plato, in his *Book of Laws*, forbids drinking to excess, unless it be during the feasts of Bacchus and in honour of the gods ; and Aristotle, in his *Politics*, blames all obscene images and pictures, except those which religion has sanctioned.

It was on these occasions of Satyrical festivity, when wild with mirth and puzzled for a novelty, that the idea of the Drama was first conceived. It began with the Odes in praise of Bacchus ; and as the victor in these poetical compositions was presented with a goat, an animal sacred to the god, hence the name of Tragodia, tragedy, or goat's ode. It was a droll composition, and so continued till the time of Solon the Lawgiver, who set his face against jesting on sacred and moral subjects. "If we encourage such jesting as this," said he to Thespis, "we shall soon find it out in our contracts and

agreements." But the jesting was the popular style of Tragedy, and when Phrynicus and *Æschylus* afterwards substituted "Fables and doleful stories," as Plutarch characterises them, the people exclaimed, "What is this to Bacchus?" It was only, however, a new form of the monstrous, and it found a passion in humanity ready to be kindled for it. And thus we find in the works of *Æschylus*, the Father of Theatrical Tragedy, the most fearful and yet sublime and magnificent exhibitions of Divine cruelty and vengeance, of inexpressible suffering, of inexorable destiny, and awful resignation in hopeless misery. It is the worshipper of the old monster gods. No wonder that such a man preferred the old statues, as more impressed with divinity than the new. He was not so much a reformer of the Satyric as a creator of the doleful Drama—a transformer of the ludicrous into the serious and lugubrious, with all the old and popular prejudices in favour of the fearful, the sublime, and the superhuman. He began, like a lawgiver, at once to the stage on the top of the rock, like Prometheus bound, with the vulture at his liver; and in all his delineations of Divine and of human passion he is so transcendently colossal that he reminds us of what has been said of Michael Angelo, his counterpart in painting, that he makes his men like gods, and his children like men. He is therefore like the elder statuary, a student of the supernatural, or subnatural, rather than the natural.

But this defect, which is merely an immature feature of a great and extraordinary effort of genius, was destined soon to be corrected by its opposite excess. The reaction commenced in the lifetime of *Æschylus* himself. *Sophocles* mitigated the ferocity and ruggedness, and moderated the inexorable destiny, of the Drama, as his predecessor conceived it. He introduced a larger proportion of humanity into its fearful divinity ; he added a little liberty to its awful necessity. He was to *Æschylus* what *Raphael* was to *Michael Angelo*—he made humanity more amiable, and divinity less repulsive. *Euripides* followed close upon each, and he was still more human than either ; and, like our own *Shakspeare*, he was free and easy, and abused by the moralists for a licentious use of his extraordinary talents. But these great men were merely the agents of the Spirit of the Times. It is easy to perceive the irresistible working of the popular mind on the trio from the first. “What is this to *Bacchus* ?” was all along the murmuring cry of the populace, who ever regretted the loss of their sport at the festivals of the patron of wit and fun ; and *Euripides*, the last of the three great Tragic Poets, was merely the precursor of the Old Comedy, which itself was a monstrous exhibition of unnatural drollery, like an old *Satyr*, and was finally transformed into the New Comedy, in which the Dramatic Poet at last condescended to represent and to ridicule men as they were.

But it was with this as it was with statuary : no sooner did they come to Nature, than they lost reverence, lost religion, and faith. Men as they are will not bear to be represented without endangering morality ; and when the vices and the frailties of both sexes are made, in public entertainments, the subjects of mirth and drollery, the theatre is apt to degenerate into a school of indecency. The Greeks experienced this fall from heaven, from the sacred into the ludicrous ; and when, in later times, their theatres no longer solemnised their minds by the exhibition of scenes above the earthly, and of characters above the human, they found they had fallen from independence into slavery, that a cloud had passed over the genius of their country, and that the scoff and the sneer of the skeptic, the obscenity of the wit, and the sophistry of the philosopher, were so many gaunt and appalling spectres, that pointed, like Destiny, with the finger to the earth ; whilst old men were weeping over the memory of the past, and women were sighing over the vices and the homeless habits of men.

Amid all this, however, there was progress—real, though not apparent, advancement. They at least got rid of the primitive monstrous ; and though they ever regarded their great *Æschylus* with admiration and respect, as the most solemn and religious of all their dramatists, and spoke of him with such reverence, that not even their greatest wits and drolls would dare to make free with his

sacred reputation, yet they felt his Drama an impractical and unwieldy Colossus, too huge for exciting the sympathy of ordinary mortals. In this they were right. The taste of *Æschylus* was false ; but his piety was genuine, his religion was sincere. Their taste was more natural ; but then they had lost their faith, and found in its stead a scoffing and a flippant humour and wit, that made a joke of the sacred, and exposed to profane eyes the vices of the age, not for execration or instruction, but amusement only ; introducing scenes of loose, Bacchanalian life, in which young rakes and old debauchees, and shameless courtezans, played the principal parts. For modest women were seldom personified in Grecian Comedy, and never permitted by the refined morality of a licentious age to represent their own sex, even in the Sacred Drama. Perhaps the people would have accepted another Sacred Drama, if it had been presented to them ; but no one could invent it. The idea was wanting. Paganism had exhausted itself ; and being now ashamed of its gods, and in doubt about the sanity of its own heroes, it had no alternative but to amuse itself with comedy, and expose the frailties of poor humanity till the close of the era. The history of the Greek Drama is, like the history of Greek sculpture, philosophy, and literature, the history of a fall from the superhuman, or Divine monstrous, down to the human and the natural, with the good, on the one

hand, arising from a more correct idea of truth and beauty, and the evil, on the other, arising from a loss of reverence and holy fear, which ever belongs to genuine faith in a stern fate and retributive Providence. The dramatists of the New Comedy were like the sculptors of the Venuses and Apollos : they were more true to Nature, but more dangerous to morals and fatal to religion.

Moreover, it was they who completed the idea of the Drama, as an action in five great parts—a Pentologue, with subordinate minor parts or scenes. The primitive Dramas of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* know no such division. They are merely one-act, or almost one-scene, pieces ; and the only approximation to a divisional Drama with which these artists were familiar, was that of the Trilogue, or three plays in succession, containing one history in three parts. This trilogue, or three Dramas, was really, though not nominally, one Drama in three acts, and was the first division into which the Drama was parted—a division which still prevails in operatic Dramas, and one moreover which we shall find to be consecrated in the great archetype of all dramatic art, the Divine Drama. But it was not until the full development of the Greek natural Drama, or Comedy, that the pentalogical or five-act form was adopted as the true and inviolable natural division. This rule was universally accepted. The Romans received it from the Greeks, and the moderns have per-

petuated the authority of the model without apparently understanding the principle. The instinct of poetic and artistic life was very powerful in the Greeks ; and, as Sophocles said of *Æschylus*, they did what was right without knowing it. Perhaps they had no intelligible or very severely logical reason for adopting this rule ; but the very fact of its unanimous reception, like that of a musical scale, is a proof that it satisfies a sensitive and a critical taste better than six or any other number. The hand was probably the analogue that pointed to it. But whatever it was, the rule in the time of Horace had become so absolute that it must not be violated.

More correct ideas of providential agency also were inculcated in the later drama ; and even amid all its loose, free and easy indifference to sacred things there was a strange combination of intellectual propriety and moral and religious wantonness ; for this very wanton and apparently impious and profane spirit arose from a superiority to the principles of paganism, and a tendency to reject it with any plausible pretext that presented itself. The early Dramatist introduced the gods upon the stage, suspended by ropes from the ceiling, or clad in their own characteristic garbs, with a huge cothurnus, or stilted shoe, to elevate their stature, and a mask to distinguish them. The witty Greek, when once he had been drilled in the schools of the skeptics, the Sophists and the Epicureans, soon learned to laugh

at these theatrical divinities, which the moderns have transferred from Tragedy to Ballet and Pantomime. The *Dramatis Personæ* of the *Furies*, or *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*, are a Pythian Priestess, Apollo, Minerva, the Ghost of Clytemnestra, Orestes, and a Chorus of Furies. Here are only one man and one woman ; the rest are either gods, ghosts, goblins or devils. In the *Prometheus Bound* of the same poet, the characters are : Strength, Force, Vulcan, Prometheus, Chorus of Nymphs, Io, and Mercury. In the *Alcestes* of Euripides, Death walks in upon the stage with Apollo and exclaims, "Ah! Phœbus, what business have you here?" Such representations are not legitimate. The Drama will not admit of the personification of abstractions, like poetry and sculpture. We can suppose these excesses to be palatable to the Greeks who lived before the times of the Cynics and the Epicureans ; but it was not possible for such absurdities to stand before the raillery of a host of skeptics, rationalists, critics, wags and sensualists. Their very sublimity was ridiculous, and the natural progress of æsthetic education demanded their suppression. The Comedy naturally got rid of the gods, and in so doing it cultivated so much the more the idea of an invisible Providence. But in the transition from the visible gods to the invisible God, the profanation of the stage was inevitable, as it assumed the appearance of an abjuration of the old faith, without the apparent substitution of

another. But another was in embryo and the Dramatic principle of a special Providence invisibly assisting the good and punishing the evil, was better represented in the fooleries of the natural than in the absurdities of the unnatural drama.

SCENE FIFTH.

THE PHILOSOPHERS BEFORE THE TIME OF SOCRATES.

The same characteristic scheme of a fall from a wild and unnatural sublimity into a more true, but at the same time a less reverent naturalism, is observable in the history of Greek Philosophy. The Philosophers have their heroics as well as the Poets ; and these are to be found in the Primitive times. Like the early ages of history, the corresponding periods of philosophy are fabulous. Little is known respecting Thales, the first of the seven sages of Greece, or any of his contemporaries. The language of moral and metaphysical science was not yet formed. The hair-splitting critics had not yet analysed the recondite meanings of words and phrases. We are, therefore, not even sure whether Thales believed very luminously in one God or not ; but he believed in a creative and omniactive something, as many do still. He believed that everything in Nature had a soul ; that the world itself was an animated being ; that a god was in every-

thing—a doctrine akin to that of primitive and rude Fetichism which persuaded the people to revere and to worship rocks and stones and shapeless natural objects, as abiding places of demons, or spirits invested with various missions and powers. Some objects he regarded as possessed of more of this mind or spirit than others; and it is particularly stated that he believed the magnet to be animated by a soul, because of its attractive properties.

Fetichism, or the worship of stocks and stones, and rude nature in general, is the matrix from which the sublime idea of an Omnipresent Divinity derived its origin in the schools of philosophy. It is perhaps the most awful and impressive of all the forms of theology. To invest a rock or a mountain, a river or a spring, or even a shell or an amulet, with life and providence, by making it the representative of a powerful spirit, a *Deus Loci*, or God of the Spot, requires a large amount of imagination and faith; but, when once it is accomplished, nurtured in infancy, confirmed by tradition, and the legends of the old, the timid, the reverential and the credulous, it embraces a larger amount of spirituality and true divinity than modern literarians are in the habit of ascribing to it. The temple of the Fetichist is a large temple: it is the temple of Nature. He requires no church or chapel to solemnise his thoughts and awaken a consciousness of the Divine Presence. He carries it about with him wherever he goes. The temple

of his god has no walls. The god has a district, and beyond that district his power may cease ; but the power of another assumes its place, for the world is apportioned and divided amongst the Elohim or Powers. The Fetichist, therefore, walks in temples, he lives in a temple ; the earth that he cultivates is consecrated earth ; the forest that supplies him with wood is a sacred forest, and some particular trees and spots are particularly holy ; the rock that shadows him is a venerable rock, endowed with life and vision, and even with speech ; for the echo that distinguishes it can be nothing else but the response of the god. He is, therefore, a thoughtful, reverential, and worshipful person, especially in a nation like that of the Greeks. To him we owe the first movements of the human mind in a logical search after the Omnipresent Spirit, the Infinite, and the Eternal. He is the true ancestor of logical theology. The prophet who heard a voice, and the seer who fell into a trance, were told of a being who filled the heavens and the earth ; but they did not comprehend, or did not believe, for they talked of their god as a local god, like their neighbours, and they even saw him, and ate and drank before him, like Moses and the Elders. They sought him not by reason, for he was declared to them by Revelation, But the Fetichist sought him logically, and could not fail, in the end, to discover him, for he is found by all those who diligently seek him.

The sudden appearance of Divine Philosophy in Greece is an outbirth from Fetichism ; a search after God ; a diligent, pious, and sacred search after the origin and the nature of things ; after the source of happiness, the principle of moral rectitude or virtue ; and the early sages of Greece were as remarkable for their piety, their morality, their austerity, and scrupulosity in moral discipline, as even the early Christians themselves. Thales regarded water, Anaximenes air, as the original element ; whilst Anaximander, with greater obscurity, maintained that the *infinite* was the original, without defining it. Pythagoras, on the other hand, took to numbers as primordial principles. He even determined the sex of numbers, the odd being male, and the even female ; the elementary principle of an odd number being unity, of an even number multiplicity. Nature was governed by the law of numerical harmony.

Observing how frequently the senses were deceived, in their observation of natural objects, the philosophers early distinguished between true and apparent knowledge ; and this inevitably led to the formation of a school of doubters. One doubt led to another, and the multiplication of doubts increased so rapidly, that at last many wiseacres, but shrewd controversialists, began to doubt the existence of everything ; and Zeno became the founder of a school of skeptics, which exhibited

much ingenuity in analysing and controverting every species of doctrine whatsoever.

Heraclitus believed the primordial element to be fire, and the perfection of the soul to consist in its dryness—a perfection which he, no doubt, abundantly exhibited in his own philosophy. He ascribed the creation of animals to the flux of things, and believed the universe to be full of demons. Leucippus pulverised the mountain of the universe, and taught the doctrine of atoms, or indivisible monads. He said the soul was merely a bundle of atoms, which produce heat and thought by friction. Other philosophers elaborated this doctrine of atoms, and tried it in all its imaginable aspects, as a means of solving the mysteries of creation. Anaxagoras taught the eternal existence of matter, and the organisation of all things, by an Intelligent Principle ; and he seems to have been the first amongst the Greeks who reduced the doctrine of a Divine Omnipresent God, as distinct from the material universe, into a logical form. A grand idea was thus at last expressed, and eloquently maintained or controverted, in the academies ; and though it did not convince the whole of the idealists, nor even take possession of the hearts of the people, it made, perhaps, as much, if not more, progress than the knowledge of the one God had made in Israel, when the Spirit told Elijah that there were yet seven thousand

men in the land who had not bowed the knee to Baal.

Amid all this noble speculation and earnest research after truth, there was much acquisition of natural knowledge; for facts were diligently sought and collected, to confirm old theories or suggest new ones. These facts, however, were merely superficial, not analytical; but their very simplicity, for want of classification and chemical or elementary science, only tended more and more to bewilder the collectors; the natural consequence of which was a school of Sophists, who delighted in proving or disproving any theory, who argued indifferently on either side of a question, and bewildered their pupils by endeavouring to convince them that Nature was a mystery, truth inscrutable, and undistinguishable from error, and that true wisdom alone consisted in being able adroitly to beat your adversary by a skilful and plausible statement of the question.

SCENE SIXTH.

SOCRATES AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Such was the contradiction of Greek Philosophy when Socrates appeared. The history of it, from Thales to the epoch of this great moralist's public prelections, is the history of a fall from the sublime

to the bewildering, from the outline to the details, from the general to the particular. It is the natural process of elaboration, in every art or science whatever. The artist, when he first designs his picture, sketches a rude outline very freely. His conception, perhaps, is grand, and his first effort encouraging ; but it is only the phantom of what it ought to be. He partly erases, or softens down, the outline, and makes a second attempt, by entering more into special details. He encounters more difficulties than before, but he gives his work a more intelligible form. He renews the attempt with greater minuteness of particulars, and finds his difficulties still greater. But his work is not finished ; he must proceed. He tries once more, corrects an old mistake, makes a new one in its stead ; deepens one shadow, softens another ; blots his picture here by making this too dark, flattens it there by making that too faint ; finds his lights and shadows dispersed, and want of unity in his work ; forces up a shadow into a light, transmutes a light into a shadow ; covers an arm, a hand, or a neck with drapery, changes the dye of a garment ; becomes excited, anxious, irresolute ; fixes his eye on his work with ardour, forgets the original archetype of Nature by looking at his own creation, and wonders at last, when a critic points out to him that the ray of light, that streams in such abundance from the clouds at the top, should illuminate also the foreground of the picture. But the

blunder is useful ; he has made one more step in the progress of his art.

Such a critic was the great Socrates. He found philosophers brilliantly discoursing of God and Nature, astronomy and the heavenly bodies, and all the abstruse and recondite mysteries of the upper and the distant regions, and neglecting to enlighten the foreground of society. He came down at once from the clouds to the earth. "He never amused himself," says Xenophon, "like others, with making curious researches into the works of Nature, and finding out how this, which the Sophists call the world, had its beginning, or what those powerful springs which influence celestial bodies. On the contrary, he demonstrated the folly of those who busied themselves much in such fruitless disquisitions, asking whether they thought they were already sufficiently instructed in human affairs, that they undertook only to meditate on divine, or, if passing over the first, and confining their inquiries altogether to the latter, they appeared, even to themselves, to act wisely, and as became men. He marvelled that they should not perceive that it was not for man to investigate such matters ; for those among them who arrogated the most to themselves, because they could, with the greatest facility, talk on these subjects, never agreed in the same opinion, but like madmen, some of whom tremble when no danger is near, while others fear no harm at the

approach of things hurtful, so these philosophers ; some of them asserting that there was no shame in saying or doing anything before the people, others sending their disciples into solitude, as if nothing innocent could be performed by us in public ; some regarding neither temples nor altars, nor reverencing anything whatsoever as divine, whilst others thought nothing could be found too vile for an object of their adoration. Even among those who laboriously employed themselves in studying the universe and the nature of all things, some imagined the whole of being to be simply one only, others that beings are in numbers infinite ; some that all things are eternally moving, others that nothing can be moved at all ; some that all things are generated and destroyed, others that there can never be any generation or destruction of anything."

Immense chaos ! hopeless confusion ! yet abundantly significant of great progress having been made in the art of controversy and the use of language. It was anarchy, but anarchy that prepared the mind for a new order, with better and more numerous resources than were previously enjoyed. The Epoch of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle was come, and a splendid attempt was about to be made to correct the follies of the old philosophy and systematise the new.

Socrates taught virtue. Like the Apostle Paul before Felix, he reasoned of temperance, righteous-

ness, and judgment to come. All his conversations, prelections and meditations, had reference to piety, honour, courage, wisdom, and justice ; the government of the passions, the government of states and of cities ; the art of making men wise and good, not by physical or mathematical knowledge, but by good morals and amiable manners. Hence he was accused of despising science and the fine arts ; but he only reduced the former to a lower place in the scale than his predecessors had placed it, and objected to that extravagant and luxurious patronage of the latter, which gratified the pride and the vanity of the great, by the exhibition of splendid and expensive paintings, decorations, furniture and plate, in their private mansions. He was a great moral reformer and equaliser ; so great, indeed, in the estimation of his successors, that Cicero has not been afraid to assert that all the philosophical sects to which Greece afterwards gave birth deduced their origin, in some way or other, from this greatest of the Greeks. For, however much they might have differed in opinion from one another, they all agreed with Socrates in respect to the practical use that ought to be made of all that deserves the name of wisdom.

Socrates left no writings ; but, like the founder of the Christian religion, he taught his disciples. He walked about the streets of Athens ; he sat in the shops, and stood and perambulated in the porches of the Forum ; and he had ever around his person

a crowd of listeners, ravished with his eloquence and astounded at his wisdom. Poor as he was, and shoeless and stockingless, with a threadbare cloak, and a humble home to which he was unable to invite his friends, and where a scolding wife perpetually reminded him of his personal worthlessness in that capacity which wives never fail to appreciate very highly—the power of collecting supplies for the household—subject to the raillery and the scorn of the profligate, the proud, and the worldly for his want of power or ability to give, he secured the respect of the intelligent and the virtuous, and attached to his person some of the finest minds with which Athens was enriched in the age in which he lived. To these men he taught the doctrines of the Divine Humanity, that the soul of man was a Divine Principle, and man himself a divine incarnate, of lower grade than the Supreme, and therefore existing in a graduated scale of divine being, in which he might rise or fall, according as he devoted himself to the practice of virtue, or abandoned himself to vicious habits; that, on the one hand, he rose in the scale, and approximated the perfection of the Supreme, on the other he sank and became degraded in proportion to the depth of the fall, and the distance from the Highest. It was a practical philosophy, recommending humility, temperance, simplicity of life, and even poverty, but at the same time inculcating the pursuit of such useful and ornamental arts as were

compatible with innocence and the cultivation of pure and refined taste. It was the human form of Divinity ; the Apollo, the Diana, the Jupiter, and Minerva, divested of their horns and their hoofs, their inhuman and irrational monstrosities, and reduced to a standard which the human heart could embrace, and the human understanding comprehend, and pure taste appreciate. It was the end of old idealism, and the beginning of a new era of artistic philosophy, in which the highest object of human study and imitation was the *Man-God* ; and it happened at the time when the Jews were engaged in rebuilding Jerusalem, within and without whose consecrated walls the manifestation of the personal representative of the *Man-God* was, in due time, to take place. After this the Divine Humanity was the real subject of all the lucubrations and aspirations of the philosophers ; though the ramifications into which the Socratic idea developed itself, like that of the founder of Christianity, exhibit nothing but a huge and a complicated failure of the attempt to realise the morality of the sage.

It is usual for Christians of sectarian habits of thought and illiberal prejudices to draw very uncharitable and false comparisons between the sages of Greece and the Patriarchs and heroes of Israel. The one is represented as living in light and dying in hope ; the other as nothing but a child of darkness, desolation, and despair. But there is no evidence whatever for such an assertion. The death-

bed of a Hebrew Patriarch is by no means a moral or an exemplary scene. It is altogether destitute of the spiritual element. It is the picture of a dark and a gloomy materialism. When Jacob called his twelve sons around his deathbed to receive his final blessing, he followed the example of his father before him, and spake of their fortune in the latter days. He gave them no admonition ; he inculcated no doctrine ; he pointed upwards to no all-seeing eye as the final and spiritual judge of the actions of men ; he spoke of no futurity beyond the world we live in ; expressed no hope of entering on another and a better sphere of existence ; gave no intimation whatever that he believed himself possessed of a soul that survived his body. His blessings were those of an Arab chief, and related more to wealth and plunder than to peace and industry. "Benjamin shall raven as a wolf. In the morning he shall devour the prey, in the evening divide the spoil."—"Dan shall be a serpent by the way that biteth the horse's heels so that the rider shall fall backwards."—"Judah is a lion's whelp ; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up." Moses gives these Patriarchs similar blessings, only different. Dan is the lion's whelp, and Gad is a lion that teareth the arm with the crown or scalp of the head. Joseph is to push the people with his horns to the ends of the earth. But not a word of the soul after the dissolution of the body. In like manner David, a man possessed of singularly elevated

devotional feelings for the times in which he lived, when he gives his last instructions to his son Solomon, exhibits the fulness of a spirit oppressed with its own passions and revengeful feelings. Not a ray of light from beyond the tomb appears to penetrate the dark soul of the Psalmist. His last dying words are painfully characteristic of a most unforgiving spirit : " Behold thou hast with thee Shimei, the son of Gera, a Benjamite of Bahurim, which cursed me with a grievous curse when I went to Mahanaim, but he came down to meet me at Jordan, and I swore to him by the Lord, saying, I will not put thee to death by the sword. Now, therefore, hold him not guiltless, for thou art a wise man and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him ; but his hoary head bring thou down to the grave with blood." These were the last words of David, the son of Jesse ; and the only encouragement he gave to his successor to walk before God in truth was this : " There shall not fail thee a man on the throne of Israel"—a secure succession to his own offspring ! poor consolation ! dark and dreary comfort ! No wonder the Gospel asserted that Christ had brought life and immortality to light. But look at Socrates on his deathbed. Compare him with Isaac or Jacob, Moses or David, and mark the approximation that had now been made, even amongst the depreciated heathen, to the splendid doctrine of life and immortality. Socrates, on his deathbed, talked of nothing else but the Soul and its prospects, and

the superior happiness in another life of the man who earnestly and resolutely obeys the calls of duty in this. No curses escaped his lips, no enmity was nourished at his heart ; he died at peace with all men, believing in God as the final judge and rewarder of all. Into God's hands he committed his soul, and made so exalted an impression on the minds of his friends who listened to him, that it seemed, as Plato describes it, an unusual mixture of pain and pleasure uninfluenced by pity, for he looked like a man who was going into a higher sphere of being, with a divine mission, to complete in the spiritual world what he had only begun upon earth.

The development of the Greek Philosophy after the time of Socrates is chiefly a ramification of the Socratic idea of the Divine Humanity—a search after the *beau idéal* of truth and virtue ; but so multifold was the variety into which the germ was ramified by diversity of minds, that the most contradictory and antagonistic forms of doctrine came out of it. On the one hand the Cynics arose, who, in the true spirit of repulsive asceticism which afterwards distinguished the primitive Christians, inculcated the doctrine of self-mortification or abstinence from all the pleasures of sensual enjoyment. On the other hand the Cyrenaics insisted, as if in deliberate and intentional contradiction of the Cynics, that happiness consisted in the proper cultivation of sensual pleasure. These two sects

in due time became, through the instrumentality of two illustrious men—Zeno and Epicurus—who imbibed their spirit, but remodelled the formulæ of their doctrines, the distinguished sects of the Stoics and the Epicureans—names which have not ceased, even in modern times, to be applied to those who exhibit, on the one hand, a resolute and apathetic indifference to the stern decrees of destiny, and, on the other, obey the dictates of appetite, and seek the enjoyments of an elegant and a refined luxury.

But Plato and Aristotle were the two most illustrious successors of the great moralist—men who have impressed the stamp of their genius upon all the philosophy of the Christian world, and so incorporated their spirit with the spirit of Christ, that their spirit and his have flowed and struggled together in the stream of time for eighteen centuries, and so blended many of their respective peculiarities that it would be hard to say how much we are indebted to the two Greek Philosophers for the elaboration of the primitive doctrines of the Church, whether in the mystic form which they assumed in the language and doctrine of the early Gnostics, or of Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Basil, or Chrysostom, or in the more scholastic form, the sharper and more definite outline, of Christian Theology which prevailed in the middle ages under the regimen of the logic of Aristotle. Plato idealised, and Aristotle naturalised; the one was the necessary comple-

ment of the other : he filled up the measure which his rival had left empty. Plato's philosophy was founded on ideas as the primitive essences, always admitting the primordial agency of the Divine Being. The world is merely the outbirth or copy of these eternal archetypes which God superintends and arranges ; and the soul, as a native of the spiritual and eternal sphere of ideas, recollects these archetypes when it perceives their copies in the material world. Thus the outward is the analogue of the inward, the letter of the spirit ; and thus the early Christian Church very readily amalgamated with the spirit of Platonism, and Platonism with the Church. Hence the venerable St. Augustine thus discourses of the Platonists : " Behold here the cause of the preference we give to the Platonists—that while other philosophers have worn out their toil and their talents in searching out the causes of things, the rules of learning and of life, those alone acknowledging God have found the cause of the world as it is, the light of all truth that may be attained, the fountain of all bliss that may be tasted. Be these Philosophers then Platonists, or whoever else, of whatever nation, who think thus of God, they think with us." And Origen says, " It was God himself who revealed to them those things, and whatsoever else has been rightly taught by them."

Lower down in the scale of spirituality, but higher in the scale of natural science, Aristotle

was first the pupil and ultimately the rival of Plato. Not satisfied with Plato's notion of a world fashioned by the Deity after the model of ideas co-existing with God in the Divine mind, he regarded matter, and even the world itself, as eternal, and therefore primordial; thus merely reversing the form of the Platonic dogma. To him and his followers, therefore, the mystical and the allegorical interpretation of nature and providence appears absurd; and thus he becomes the father of that great and influential school which, beginning with experience and observation, and collecting facts and investigating causes and effects, have reared the superstructure of the physical sciences, and avoided the occult and recondite mysteries of the ideal and the supernatural. Yet not altogether neglected is this department of science by Aristotle; but instead of forming, as with Plato, the centre of his system, it forms its circumference. Plato reasons *a priori*, from causes to effects, in discoursing of the works of Creation and Providence; Aristotle, *a posteriori*, from effects to causes, taking experience as his guide, as Bacon did in his *Novum Organon*, when he revived the true Aristotelian system which had been corrupted by injudicious combination with the Platonic in the middle ages. Both systems are correct in their own respective spheres; but the Platonic system applied to physics, and the Aristotelian system applied to primordial ideas, respectively resemble a fish upon land and a bird in the water.

Notwithstanding the superior amount of practical wisdom in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, in comparison with that of the sages who preceded the time of Socrates, still it was not sufficient. The spirit of the age was impetuously urging the popular mind in the direction of the practical and the real ; and the wits and the critics were incessantly exposing with satire, and ridicule, and powerful objection, the speculative and incomprehensible theories of the Academicians of the Platonic School, and the useless analytical distinctions of the Peripatetics, who acknowledged the leadership of Aristotle. There was room, therefore, still for schools of a more decidedly moral and practical character. The demand created the supply : the idea of a practical philosophy divided itself into its two antagonistic elements—the positive and the negative—and brought forth the two characteristic schools of the Stoics and Epicureans—necessity and liberty—the sons and the daughters of Practical Philosophy.

The Stoical School was the school of rigid virtue, stern fate, or necessity, in the midst of which the sage is expected to live in mental tranquillity, “smiling at the drawn dagger,” like the soul of Cato, and “defying its point.” Virtue, according to the Stoic, is happiness—not the means of happiness only, but happiness itself—a doctrine which tends to the cultivation of a dignified composure and apathy, a passionless resolution to do what is right ; not for the purpose of gratifying an appetite

of the sensual nature, but for the pure moral and intellectual satisfaction arising from the consciousness of obeying the law of rectitude. The tendency of such principles is to make a man stern and severe, inexorable, tyrannical, and unsympathetic. It is the ultramasculine form of morality, and therefore we have styled the Stoics the sons, but not the daughters, of Practical Philosophy. Indulgence did not belong to the Stoical theory of high-pressure discipline. Sympathy was too feeble, too effeminate, to be regarded by such rigid moralists as compatible with masculine dignity of character. To cry, to weep, to fear—to start, to lose that noble and imperturbable calm which ever accompanied their *beau idéal* of the virtuous man—were considered by the faithful followers of Zeno indications of weakness too feeble ever to characterise any species of moral greatness, and only to be indulged in children and slaves; and even lowering to the dignity of women of high rank and elevated character. The mortification of the flesh, the total eradication of the sensual nature, or its entire subjection to right reason, was the ultimate object of Stoical philosophy; thus realising, long before the Christian epoch, the Christian idea of self-sacrifice in all that pertains to the gratification of the passions. “Mortify the flesh with its affections and lusts;” “Offer up your bodies to God, a living sacrifice holy and acceptable;” says an Apostle; and had he been a Stoic of the Greek School, he would only have

taught the same doctrine in a different phraseology. The morals of Zeno as abundantly permeate the principles and precepts of the early Christian School, as do the Mystics of Plato ; and, indeed, the succeeding development of the ascetic and monastic life, is nothing more than an exaggeration of the Stoical principle elaborated and reduced into regular philosophical form by the followers of Zeno and Chrysippus in the Porch of Athens, and inherited by them from the elder Cynics ; but not to be found in any institutional or systematic order in the Jewish nation.

Like the Christians also, the Stoics believed in the final conflagration of all things—a mystical doctrine now corroborated by geological science.* God, according to them, is a fire—an animating, preserving, and a consuming fire—pervading all

* Geology teaches the doctrine of an eternal succession of changes by fire and water—fire from below, by which the Plutonic rocks are formed ; and water from above, by which all geological deposits are made. In the everlasting course of ages, it follows that rocks come up from the fire, and are disintegrated into soil and sand ; and these, in their turn, sink down to the fire, and become converted into rocks. It follows, therefore, that all the upper world must, in the course of ages, be destroyed by fire, and all its memorials molten and transformed into crystalline rock. If, as is most probable, the internal fire of the earth reproduces itself, the conflagration by eternal fire becomes a scientific fact, though not as the untranslated mystic inspiration of antiquity seems to imply. The flood and the conflagration thus become the types of the two everlasting agents of all Geological Transformations, by which old Earths are converted into new ones.

nature, and constituting the soul of the universe. "In him we live, move, and have our being ;" of him we are portions, and therefore are "partakers of the Divine Nature." This portional character of our being led the early Stoics to believe in the mortality or perishability of the soul, and even to prove this doctrine by logical arguments, as did Cleanthes and Panætius ; but the later Stoics revolted at this undignified consummation of human destiny, and gradually adopted the more ennobling faith of a spiritual and endless existence. Their idea of God was that of an omnipresent spirit incorporated with matter, and acting by a law of necessity—a wise necessity—with which, as in the Calvinistic idea of Predestination, was mixed up an idea of liberty so complicated and incomprehensible, that any attempt to reconcile the two antagonistic principles is hopeless ; although it would be equally hopeless to attempt to prove that the doctrine is false, and that either an absolute necessity, or an absolute liberty, is not a logical absurdity. Indeed, the whole philosophy of the School of the Stoics makes such an approximation to that of the early Christian Church, that the difference is chiefly to be seen in the motive of action and the logical phraseology. The Stoic was proud, affected ; the Christian was humble and simple-minded. This was the most characteristic distinction between the two men ; and to this day there are, no doubt, amongst us innumerable baptised or self-consti-

tuted Christians, who exemplify in their haughty, self-confident, and consequential demeanour, the character of the old Stoic, rather than that of the name which they are led, by the circumstances of the times, to assume ; whilst in respect to real self-restraint, and abstinence from every species of self-indulgence, they are far inferior to the venerable heathen whom they have been taught, by a perversion of their faith, to despise.

The Epicureans were merely the natural opposites of the Stoics, the daughters of moral philosophy, and as necessarily followed them in the ordinary succession as rain follows thunder. The Stoics represented virtue as extremely difficult and almost impossible. The Epicureans described it as easy and its pathway strewn with flowers. The doctrine of Epicurus is the doctrine of Solomon, and is therefore to be found inscribed in the Sacred Volume. "Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasure and all her paths are peace." To be happy is to be free from pain, free from care and anxiety, and abundantly visited with a rich and continuous succession of pleasant sensations. To seek happiness therefore is to seek pleasure. This is true: "Charity believeth all things." All the philosophers teach truth in a mystery, even as the Apostles taught the wisdom of God in a mystery ; but the error and the evil are to be found in the interpretation of the text—What is pleasure ? What is the interpretation of the Epicurean text ? You may make it

speaking either truth or error, either vice or virtue, according as you are yourself inclined. It is a dangerous text, however, for a corrupt world, which designates by the name of pleasure what a good man believes to be pain. The man of pleasure, according to the estimate of a sensual disposition, is the man of profligate and debauched habits, the prodigal who wastes his substance with riotous living, who enervates his body with sensual excess, and abuses the highest and the noblest faculties of mind by enslaving them to the lowest of his appetites and passions. To such a disposition thus abusing the gift of speech the text only teaches that vice is virtue. But not so did Epicurus interpret the ethical proposition that formed the basis of his philosophy. His life was of the purest, most temperate and irreproachable character. His pleasure was the noble and exalted enjoyment of a tranquil and an innocent mind, and a body preserved in a state of health and comfort by the moderate exercise of all the innocent affections and passions. To the rich he taught the duties which they owed to the poor and to their country, and the obligations they incurred of devoting themselves in full health and vigour of body and mind to the performance of all that was to be expected from their age, their sex, their rank and their fortune ; and to the poor he prescribed the resolute and habitual exercise of contentment and resignation which were equally binding on them as other duties on the

rich, and not more difficult, or less conducive to real happiness. In morals he taught the very identical philosophy of St. Paul himself—that, in whatever station a man was placed, so long as he had food and clothing he ought to be content. And, as a practical comment on the text of pleasure from which he preached, the following inscription was placed on the gate of the garden in which he taught his disciples:—"The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley cakes and water from the spring. These gardens will not provoke your appetite with artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not then be well entertained?"

Epicurus was not only unfortunate in the use of the word pleasure, in a sense more exalted than that of the vulgar, and therefore so likely to be misunderstood and abused by his followers, but he also laid himself open to the charge of impiety by a species of atheism revolting to pagans, but preparing the minds of all who received it for the adoption of a nobler and a truer faith. The rejection of the popular gods of the Greeks by this philosopher is an approximation to truth without its attainment. The monstrous legends of the poets and the populace respecting these divinities were treated by him as profane and impious babblings, and ascribed to the wild and phrensied imaginations of the wanton, the profligate and the superstitious, and

regarded as dangerous to purity of morals and the practice of virtue. Such deities Epicurus rejected, and wisely rejected, and rather than incur the danger of pollution from the reappearance of such licentious immortals on the stage of human society, he banished the gods, both temperate and intemperate, to such a respectful distance from the world, as practically to denounce their worship or deny their existence, by representing them as too exalted and too remote from human comprehension or sympathy, to feel any interest in the affairs of men, to listen to their prayers, or be pleased with their sacrifices ; in fine, of no use whatever. This to the Pagan was absolute Atheism. And Epicurus had not imbibed such clear and definite notions of an all-presiding Intelligence as to enable him to substitute the one in the room of the many divinities whom he discarded. Nevertheless, he helped the public mind forward, as others did, to the rejection of Paganism ; and his office, as a great religious reformer and apostle, is not the less real that he did not arrive at the terminus of the Divine Unity and intelligence along with the school which he conducted in his train. He stopped short of pure Theism, but he led them out of paganism, idolatry, and superstition ; he swept out much of the rubbish of former generations, and prepared their minds, well swept and purified, for those higher views of Creative Power and universal Providence which were about to be presented with marvellous potency, for

the consideration and acceptance of the whole civilised world.

Nor was he alone in this respect. The Greek philosophers constitute a powerful band of pioneers to Christianity, or at least to that one aspect of Christianity which declares the falsehood and the sin of idolatry and polytheism, and substitutes for many one eternal and infinite Spirit. From Thales to Epicurus, and from Epicurus downwards through a long series of new Academicians, who doubted, and modified, and remodelled the formulæ of Plato, and through innumerable diversities of Epicureanism, and Stoicism, and Peripateticism, which successively appeared in the course of ages, there is constantly observable a decided opposition to the popular belief of the gods; but a manifest want of that theological authority, without which even the most reasonable creed is unable to supplant the most irrational and monstrous faith. The gods had a prestige, a traditional evidence of Temple and Worship, in their favour, which Philosophy had not. They were clothed in mystery and undefined magnificence, and the weakness of their defence was rather ascribed to the feebleness of their advocates than the impotence of their cause. Their sins were viewed with indulgence, and charitably ascribed to the dreamings of the Muses, and the wantonness of human imagination; whilst the fact alone of the establishment of their worship, the maintenance of their priests, and sacrifices, and

the splendour of their temples, was more than sufficient to counterweigh the influence of any particular form of dogmatism which might come into being, like a moth or a butterfly, from its chrysalis, and maintain an ephemeral existence in a porch or a garden, a grove or a lyceum, subject to innumerable modifications and revolutions from its own followers, and bantered, and rallied, and ridiculed, and satirised, without professing to be commissioned from a higher power, by which Divine Grace was bestowed on its followers, or vengeance inflicted on its enemies. The philosophical doctrine of Divine Unity failed for want of Divine authority, for want of the pro-logical ; but it accomplished all that the logical form of Revelation could be expected to perform. It weakened the authority of a false faith, and prepared the mind for a new pro-logical Revelation, in which the Divine authority, which was wanted for the liberty of the Schools, would be found in the sovereign dictation of the Church.

The following quotation is an admirable specimen of the manner in which the philosophers reasoned against the gods :—

“When Timotheus was at Athens, singing the glory of Diana,” says Plutarch, in his Treatise on Pagan Superstition, “and calling her

‘Mad, furious, inspired, frantic,’

Kinesias, the lyric poet, rose from the spectators, and said, ‘Then may thy daughters be such as

thou representest the goddess to be ;' and, indeed, such qualities, and even worse, do the superstitious believe concerning Diana. Nor do they entertain milder sentiments concerning Apollo, Juno, or Venus ; for they fear and dread all these deities. Albeit, what blasphemy did Niobe ever utter against Latona, so great as that which superstition has persuaded silly people to believe concerning the goddess ? for it is believed that, being reproached, she slew with her arrows the poor woman's 'six daughters, and six youthful sons,' so implacable and insatiable was she in the infliction of evils. If the goddess had really been angry, and had borne enmity to the wicked, and felt grieved at being ill spoken of, and grew indignant instead of laughing at the uninstructedness and ignorance of mortals, she ought to have slain with her arrows those who falsely accused her of such cruelty and bitterness, and could write and say such things of her. We condemn as barbarous and brutal the rancorous savageness of Hecuba, when she saith (in the *Iliad*, 24)—

‘ Oh, that I could seize his liver !

That I could cling to and devour it !’

Yet the superstitious imagine, that, if any one eateth a pilchard or a minnow, the Syrian goddess will eat through his shin-bones, cover his body with ulcers, and dissolve his liver.”—“They believe the gods to be furious, unfaithful, changeable, revengeful, cruel, and easily offended ; whence it is evident,

that the superstitionist must fear and hate the Gods.”—“The Atheist supposes there are no gods,” continues Plutarch; “and the superstitionist wisheth there were none, and believeth against his will, for he is afraid to disbelieve. Albeit like Tantalus, who seeketh to remove the stone from above his head, so also this man would wish to remove the fear which fully as much oppresseth him, and would embrace and hail as a blessing the condition of the Atheist as a comparative state of freedom.”—“Moreover, the Atheist giveth no handle whatever to superstition, but superstition hath given to Atheism the very cause of its existence, and since it hath existed, furnisheth a plea in its favour—no true or excellent plea, indeed, but one not deficient in some excuse. For it was not anything reprehensible in the heavens, nor in the stars, nor in the seasons, nor in the periods of the moon, nor in the motions of the sun round the earth which produce daylight and darkness, nor in the food of animals, nor in the production of fruits—it was not from seeing anything superfluous or disorderly in these things that men fancied they knew that the universe was without a God. But it was the ridiculous actions and passions of superstition, her canting words, her frantic motions, her juggleries and enchantments, and perambulations and drummings, and impure purifications and filthy sanctifications, and, at the temples, her barbarous and unlawful penances and bemirings. It is these things which

make some persons say that it would be better that there should not be than that there should be gods, who can receive and bless such ceremonies, and be so unjust, and so unreasonable, and so easily offended."

Powerful as such arguments as these must have been in battering the strongholds of Paganism, it would have kept its ground, most probably, till now, if it had not been attacked from a higher and more influential quarter. The living and speaking, the anthropomorphous God, is ever more authoritative than the ideal and silent God of the logician. Religion cannot rest upon logical abstractions alone ; but it cannot be supported without them. Whatever faith cannot defy and resist the assault of logical argument must ultimately fall into imbecility, and give birth to Atheism and Infidelity, in those who are dissatisfied with it, without being provided with another from a pro-logical source. But the Logic of the Philosophers was not conclusive. They themselves could not account for the origin and prevalence of evil any more than the superstitious ; they only ascribed to natural causes what the superstitious ascribed to the gods ; and thus they introduced a new absurdity—a discordance between God and Nature ; that is, between God and his own works. The believer in God was as deeply bewildered with the subject of evil as the believer in the gods ; nor did Christianity, when it came at last with a powerful pro-logical faith,

give satisfaction to the logical mind respecting this knotty point, the solution of which, being reserved for the end of the Drama, was withheld from Jews and Christians as well as from Philosophers, who were thus all compelled to prolong the controversy, and keep up the innumerable distinctions of sects; and when the gods of the Pagans were at last dispersed, and their idolatrous worship had ceased to offend the delicacy of the sensitive, or the moral purity of the virtuous, or the wisdom of the wise, there still existed the Powers of Evil in another aspect; and the bewildering question of the compatibility of physical, intellectual and moral pravity with the perfect wisdom and goodness and Almighty Power of God. Yet no question is more simple, more soluble, and more intelligible than this—the simple question of Divine Gradation; and nothing has more demonstrated the Almighty Power of the Great Spirit, as the invisible manager of the Divine Drama, than the fact of the long concealment of this very simple truth from the minds of the wise and the prudent in all ages, who have been stretching their splendid intellectual talents to the uttermost in order to comprehend it.

Multiplicity without unity was the weakness of the Greek idea; for it is the sand of the desert without the rock. Unity without multiplicity is the weakness of the Jewish idea, for it is the rock without the sand in relation to the Divine. Hence the difficulty of reconciliation or agreement between Gen-

tiles and Jews ; and the latter have been compelled by the stern laws of logic to convert the sand into demons, in order to account for spiritual phenomena which could not, in harmony with the principles of their law, be ascribed to the Rock. But a little more and better logic, had they been permitted to use it, would have taught them that without the Infinitely many the Eternal One is imperfect ; nor could Polytheism ever have had an existence as a Providential Establishment, if it had not contained an elemental, a vital and eternal truth. The omnipresence of God is merely another word for his Polytheistic Unity. As the whole of the Divine consciousness, wisdom and efficiency in action must be in every portion of space at once, and as he must have the faculty of subdividing his attention infinitely (that is, of giving a separate and simultaneous attention to an infinite number of things), what else can this be but an infinite multiplicity of individualities in the infinite and eternal universality ? In this we perceive the absolute and the free in the Divine Nature—the Male and the Female Principles, from which the unity and the infinite variety of creation are derived. The Gentiles received the one aspect of truth, and the Jews the other. But neither as yet have received both, or are able to reconcile the idea of unity with the fact of diversity. But the deepest and the sublimest truths were taught in pro-logical mystery from the beginning, like riddles propounded, but not expounded ; and therefore, we are told at the very

opening of the Book, that man was made in the image of God, male and female ; and before it closes, we are also told by Micah, the Hebrew Prophet, that in the days of universal peace and glory, the day of restitution of all things, every people shall walk in the name of its own God, and Israel in the name of their God ; for that which was is, and shall be for ever, only translated or modified, and there can be no vital unity without diversity. Hence the Divine mission of both Monotheism and Polytheism : but neither has yet solved the Problem. The antagonism lasts until the final reconciliation. Victory there cannot be, for each is victorious : "Charity believeth all things."

SCENE SEVENTH.

WOMEN AND SLAVES.

Greece was invested with a mission of Liberty, and Liberty is a feminine principle. But there is a graduated scale of Liberty, and the last note must not be expected at the beginning of the gamut. It is only at the end of the Drama of Generation and the Fall, that the full realisation of Liberty can take place ; and then we shall find its perfect analogue in the social and domestic, moral and intellectual status of woman. In the progress of the Drama we can only discover a gradual eleva-

tion of the Female Sex in the favourable, and a greater degradation in the unfavourable, aspect of woman's history; for the history of both sexes represents a cross, a rise and a fall, a progressive and a retrogressive movement, indicating the regular decline of an old phasis of being, and the growth of a new.

Under the Jewish economy woman holds a very inferior place. The morning prayer of the male Jews, for every day in the week, over all the world, contains these remarkable words:—"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the world, because thou hast given the cock knowledge to distinguish between day and night—because thou hast not made me a *gentile*—because thou hast not made me a *slave*—because thou hast not made me a *woman*." A Jew might discharge his wife as he would a servant, merely by giving her a letter of divorce—a *get*; and so easy was this that Rabbi Simeon says, "All documents written by day and signed at night are void, except letters of divorce;" and these may be written, if only with indelible ink, on anything; on a leaf, or a cow's horn, or the cow itself, or even on a slave's hand; only the article on which the letter is written becomes, of course, the lady's property. A Jew might have as many wives as he pleased, and make wives of all the servant girls in his house, without giving any *just* cause for his wife to complain; repressing all her inward feelings of disgust and discontentment by the fear of a *get*

if she dared to remonstrate. In such a state of society woman must have been thoroughly subdued. Accordingly she makes no figure whatever in Jewish history. Even the Spirit rarely visited her as a prophetess, and she could not be a priestess ; and not one of the Scriptures is written by a woman. It was an ultramasculine dispensation, the Law of Moses—a bearded system in which the woman was as a rib not yet extracted. Had it been otherwise, the law of analogy would have been violated.

In the next act of the Drama woman makes a step in advance. She becomes at least a wife, a prophetess, and a priestess. The Greeks rejected polygamy, and sanctified the idea of marriage, as well as of the female sex. The Greek had a home and a family circle, and his wife had at least the satisfaction of knowing that she could not have a legitimate rival in her own house. However, there was little security for the Greek wife remaining a wife. Her husband could divorce her with little trouble, but it was very difficult for her to divorce him. She was little better than a hired house-keeper, who bore legitimate children to her master. When dismissed, she returned to her father. The greatest hold she had upon her husband, in the absence of his love, was her dowry or her children. Without a dowry, children, or conjugal love, there was no hope for her. A Greek could have dismissed his wife, as a Jew would, without public scandal to himself, if she brought him no offspring.

In such a state of matrimonial relation, bisexual society, like that which peculiarly distinguishes the modern from the ancient world, could have no existence. Society was male only. The men had their clubs, as Englishmen have theirs. *Eranoi* they were called, and consisted of every variety of association—convivial, mutual benefit, political, artistic, or merely pic-nic, as humour or circumstances happened to dictate ; and in such associations they had their symposia, or feasts, from which married women and maids were invariably excluded. When a man gave a banquet in his own house to his friends, it was to his male friends only, for he was supposed to have none other ; and his wife and daughters might help to provide the feast, but could only partake of the remnants that came from the table. An Athenian woman was under bondage from birth till death. She had always a *Kurios*—a lord—either in a father or a husband, or when these failed, her nearest male kinsman, who could dispose of her in marriage in spite of herself. A man might even bequeath his wife by will to his friend. The mother of Demosthenes was left by will to Aphobus, with a portion of eighty *minas* ; and he has preserved the form of such a will in one of his speeches. The wife is there enumerated amongst other property, and has only the privilege of coming first in the list ; walking over before the horses and cows, pigs and poultry, from the house of her old to that of her new master.

Such was the social position of Greek women, matrons and maids, respectable ladies ; and woman being, as we have already stated, the type as well as the test of liberty, it seems as if this boasted liberty of Greece had little or no existence. Where Liberty reigns, neither woman nor man can be in bondage. But Liberty did not reign in Greece. It only there began to bud and shoot up its plumule. It is the bud, and not the full-blown flower, that we must look for in the second act of a Legitimate Drama—Liberty in its lowest form, the Exodus, or first effort to escape from the Genesis of primitive bondage. Be not therefore surprised at the form in which it will now present itself.

The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower,

when it is full blown at the end of the Drama.

There was a class of emancipated women in Greece such as could not exist in Jewry, and such also as never has existed in any other country since, in so reputable, recognised and legitimate a form. They were called Hetairai ; that is, female friends and companions of the men. With these ladies, many of them the most beautiful and accomplished in Greece, not only the young men before marriage spent much of their time, but even the married men continued to the last to frequent their society, and contribute to their revenues, by means of which they were enabled to keep up expensive establishments and to give magnificent entertainments. Even the

most illustrious statesmen, philosophers, poets, artists and moralists were not ashamed to be present at their levees, not less captivated by their wit, their eloquence, and learning, than by their personal attractions. Aspasia, the most illustrious of these women, taught politics and eloquence publicly in Athens ; and Socrates and Pericles were amongst her disciples and admirers ; and the latter, the most illustrious of the Greek Archons, made her first his mistress, after she had been the mistress of many, and afterwards his wife. Phryne became so rich by the influence of her charms, both personal and intellectual, that she proposed to Alexander the Great to rebuild the city of Thebes at her own expense, if he would merely permit her to place this inscription on its walls :—"Alexander destroyed but Phryne the *Hetaïra* rebuilt it." She was the mistress of Praxiteles the painter, and doubtless the model of many a Venus and other goddess. *Lais* was visited by the most illustrious men of her times. Her residence at Corinth was a court. Her levee was that of a princess. Demosthenes the orator set out on purpose to Corinth to see her, but on reflection turned. She was particularly proud of her influence over Sages whose pretentious virtue she elegantly smiled at. Even Diogenes the Cynic was her admirer ; and though priding himself in his filthy dress and disagreeable manners, such was the feminine admiration of intellectual power and wit, that *Lais*, amid all her apparent

sensuality, never failed to experience that the Cynic was with her an especial favourite. Lasthenia attended the lectures of Plato in male disguise ; and Leontion frequented the garden of Epicurus and partook of his frugal fare. She also became one of his most illustrious disciples, and wrote a book in support of his opinions, which Cicero praises for the purity and elegance of its composition and the Attic salt of its phraseology.

Such were some of the most distinguished of the Hetairai, and they were, in an intellectual point of view, the most accomplished women in Greece, the only women indeed who were qualified by education, by reading, by learning, by general information, by wit and humour and freedom of conversation, to be the female companions of such a class of men as the citizens, who were all gentlemen, soldiers, landowners, independent in fortune, living by the labour of slaves and the rents of aliens, and therefore solely devoted either to physical pleasure and exercise on the one hand, or intellectual enjoyment on the other. And as their wives and sisters were all imprisoned in durance vile, concealed from the sight of men, forbidden to sit at the social board or make a part of what was then understood to be society, these Hetairai, or female companions, who underwent no such restrictions, who associated freely with men at their banquets, who vied with them in learning, eloquence, wit, and even art, and who in fine educated themselves up to a level of equality with

them, became just what the analogy of the dramatic development would naturally teach us to expect—the first buds of emancipated woman in the history of civilisation. These women were not despised, as their representatives in modern society are. The poets immortalised them in song, the orators unblushingly honoured them, and the historians treated them with indulgence, and the habit of respect for the memory of the class has even incorporated itself with modern society, in which modest and virtuous women are not ashamed to read and to speak in raptures of the burning Sappho, the elegant and impassioned poetess and inventress of the Sapphic measure, who was nothing else but a lawless woman, and one of the worst description, banished from the isle of Andros for her dissolute manners, and at last committing suicide when she began to perceive the decline of her attractions.

The isles of Greece ! the isles of Greece !
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose, and Phœbus sprung !

So sings Byron ; and young ladies exclaim, “ How very beautiful ! ” as they also do when they sing, with male accompaniments, the untranslated songs of Thomas the Moore. Yet, bad as Sappho was alive, the Lesbians honoured her when dead ; built temples to her memory, and struck her image on their money. She was a Divine Hetaira—a darling—a fit companion for illustrious men ! The Co-

rinthians conferred similar honours on the Hetairai of their city collectively, after the expulsion of the Persians; for, believing that Corinth was saved from destruction by the powerful intercession of these ladies with the gods, they caused their likenesses to be painted, at the public expense, and hung up in the temples, like Nell Gwyn's at Chelsea, as memorials to posterity of the service they had rendered to their country. In such a state of things it is needless to ask what real influence married women and their daughters possessed over public opinion in Greece; for, though Xenophon, in his *Economics*, has put into the mouth of Isomachus a flattering description of a good wife and her household, it is only a *beau ideal* picture, with which the listener, Socrates, professes himself delighted and surprised.

The bud of liberty appeared out of the family circle, not in it. It was a bitter bud; a licentious and immoral bud; a bud that was the source of immense corruption and innumerable miseries. But still it was liberty in its first form; *i. e.*, resistance to law. This is the first life-germ of liberty, and woman commenced it. It is not the last; for in its final form it is reconciled with law, and restored to all its lost honours. But these women are not to be blamed as the corrupters of the Greeks: perhaps they were purer in heart than their male companions. They were merely the natural reaction against the injustice of the law of marriage

and social communion. Their existence was the worm in the bud of Greek civilisation, the test of its merits, and the prognostic of its doom. We have only to read a few Greek Comedies which delineate the prevailing features of the manners of Greek society, to be satisfied that its liberty was base, and under sentence of death from the Judge of all. The only spirited women that appear in these Comedies are the Hetairai. These are the women of Greece; the matrons and maids are locked up at home, and can only appear as dawdles and slaves, without courage, without wit, without intelligence, without interest. The soul of the sex is all concentrated in the female companion, not the wife; and regarding this woman as the true representative of liberty in Greece, we discover what we would otherwise have been at a loss to perceive. So prevalent, so very prevalent, was this habit of association with free women, that even Solon, the great Sage and Lawgiver of Greece, could or would do no more for the married women than enact a law which compelled a husband to sleep at least three times a month with his wife. "Ex uno disce omnes." From this one illustration imagine the rest.

It is now time to speak of the slaves. They very naturally come in along with the women to damn the liberty of Greece; but not the Greeks personally, for they only played the part which the Great Dramatist and Manager of the Amphi-

theatre of Civilisation prescribed to them. Slavery prevailed over all Greece, and slaves were sold in the markets by auction. They were the labourers, the agriculturists, the miners, the tradesmen, who conducted all the useful arts, whilst the fine arts were left to the citizens, their masters. These human cattle were not Niggers, nor even always barbarians, but Greeks from the colonies, or unfortunate persons taken in war, who could not redeem themselves. They were much more numerous than the citizens, but undisciplined, and without military resources, though very often attempting to redeem themselves, like French and other modern proletaires, by means of insurrections. Between these and the citizens a class of aliens existed, who were neither slaves nor citizens, and who, for the most part, engaged in commercial affairs, and rented houses and lands from the citizens, who were the only proprietors of immoveable property. The citizens, therefore, were a very small body—an aristocracy—who made slaves of the populace, and tenants and clients of the middle classes. It was a triune system, such as exists amongst ourselves at the present day in a different form; for the archetype exists in Nature as one of Plato's eternal ideas, of which the universe is but a model. But though ever existing, the model is ever undergoing translations from lower to higher meanings, from rougher to smoother outlines.

The very offensive and coarse form which the

social distinctions took in Greece, was incompatible with a high order of civilisation. It might ennoble and dignify the first class ; but the cost was too great, and the injustice monstrous, when this was done by means of the degradation of the lower caste. But it is scarcely possible to conceive how the cultivation of the fine arts, which constitutes the principal mission of Greece, could have been otherwise effected in primitive times. Society was then imperfectly organised. Wars were frequent and inevitable—roads were few and very bad—national and provincial intercourse was difficult—there was no press, no stage coaches, no railways. Without an exclusive and independent class, above the fear of want, and entirely devoted to the refinements of art and of thought, such a nursery of genius as Greece was—such abundant provision for all that is noble in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and the Drama, as Greece made—could never have existed. It does not exist even now in modern times, with all our superior advantages. It existed then as if on purpose to give the fine arts a birth, and send them forth into the world. The Athenians expended upon art alone almost the whole of their revenues. Their theatre cost more to support it per annum than their army and navy. Their performers were more extravagantly rewarded than our modern stars. Even flute-players of distinction, according to Xenophon, lived in a most magnificent manner ; and Athenæus

relates that Amœbæus the harper was paid at the rate of about £200 for one performance at the theatre. Their Acropolis, within an area of several miles in circumference, was a splendid museum of palaces and temples, statues and pictures. And it was just because the Athenians were idlers—independent gentlemen socially combined in one city—that they were enabled to become amateurs and connoisseurs in art; devoting all their time to gymnastics, to pleasure, and to the study of elegance and beauty in form and manner. It was because they were not labourers, and held it even disreputable to be merchants, that they could be what they were—a club of gentlemen, patrons of art and passionate admirers and students of idealities. The slaves enabled them to be this; the clients enabled them to be this. And yet the system was an evil, and therefore doomed to destruction. It was the green and sour grape, and not the ripe one. But the man who can understand, and make others understand, how a grape may and ought to be ripe and plump before it is green, hard, and sour, may also understand, and make others understand, how the birth of the arts might and should have taken place in any other mode than it did, amid the travail pains of slave labour and the throes of oppression. So very natural did slavery seem to all the sages of Greece, that they never questioned the propriety of it. It is one of the elements of Plato's Republic, and Aristotle divides men into free and

bond, as if the distinction were natural and inevitable ; making, however, his own people, like the Jew, the legitimately free, and the barbarians legitimately bond. It was the spirit of the times ; and the state of society, and the mutual dependence of its elements, rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to translate the word servitude into a higher meaning than slavery.

SCENE EIGHTH.

THE GREEK EMPEROR AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The cultivation of philosophy and the arts in Greece would have been of little use to the world, if means had not been found to disseminate abroad the benefit of the acquisition which had thus been made. The wranglings of the orators in the schools, and the competition of the artists in the studios of Athens, were a series of interminable subtilties and refinements, which, after having attained a certain advancement, only tended to foster the pride of the Greek, and increase his contempt for the less cultivated barbarian. Such refinement ends in vice—evil comes out of good at last, like good out of evil. When once a stratum of geological deposit is thick enough, another is ordained to overlay it. History is full of epochs and eras, and they are all useful.

The mission of Alexander the Great and his vic-

torious army was indispensable to extend and thus utilise the acquirements of the Greeks. The school-boy regrets to read of the conquests of the barbarous Macedonians, and the terms which they imposed on his favourite cities of the poets, the philosophers, the artists and the patriots. But that is because the historian has not done justice to the subject, in previously introducing him to the new children of destiny. Our sympathies always go along with those to whom we are well introduced, and who are favourably known to us. Were history written with a perfect pen we should always be pleased with what has occurred. It is our partiality that regrets, and our ignorance that condemns. The Macedonian conquest is one of the most beautiful and sublime episodes in history ; for in the short space of ten years it planted the Greek civilisation over the East, from the Nile to the Euphrates, and from the Euxine to the Persian Gulf. With an army of 35,000 men Alexander crossed into Asia, and undertook the conquest of the greatest empire then in existence ; and in defiance of armies ten times or even twenty or thirty times greater than his own, as by some reported, he walked over the whole extent of the imperial dominions, routed all who opposed him, and took possession ; and wherever he went he not only planted the Greek civilisation, but it took root and flourished. He was the Mahomet of literature, philosophy and the arts ; and, what is remarkable, the

time that these two commissioners occupied in their personal career of conquest was nearly the same, ten years. It was the destiny of Greece that supported Alexander. A sower was wanted to sow the seed which the little republics had accumulated in their intellectual granaries, and he was chosen. The field was prepared and the heavens were favourable. In a few short years Egypt and Syria were both Greek nations, and brought into the field of memorial civilisation. Babylon itself was transformed into Seleucia the Eastern, as Antioch was the Western, capital of Syria; and from the Nile to the Euphrates Greek arts and Greek manners, and to a large extent also the Greek language, became at once triumphant. And now, when the traveller wanders over the Desert and visits the ruins of Palmyra, Baalbec and Petra, he finds to his astonishment everywhere the remnants of Greek temples, pillars and capitals, bespeaking the former prevalence of that genius of Beauty which was born and cradled in the isles and peninsulas of Greece.

And who accomplished the great and miraculous change? One of the Greek Republics? No; they only prepared the material. It was a monarchy that effected the conquest and planted a series of monarchies, not republics, in its stead. But never mind: be not one-sided: a republic will ere long avenge the municipal cause and conquer these victorious monarchies in its turn, and in its turn be conquered. It is a revolving series, like that mysterious geolo-

gical process by which rock is converted into sand, and then sand into rock, in everlasting rotation. Be not high-minded, but fear. There is nothing eternal except rotation and Him who guides it.

And why go Eastward with the Grecian Conquest? Why not go Westward? Because the different missions must all be combined, and bring forward the whole mass of civilisation collectively. The conqueror thus, like a shepherd's dog, is sent out to the very uttermost skirts of the great arena of civilisation in the East, in order to drive the flock all in, so that none should be ignorant of what has been done in Greece for the cause of Humanity. Had he not gone Eastward, the East could not have been included in the magic circle. With the exception of the little country of Palestine, it was all involved in the mist of immemorial barbarism. From the day of the conquest it escapes from that mist and belongs to history; and the two great missions meet together for the first time in the same geographical arena. It is said that Alexander having vented his wrath upon Tyre, proceeded to Jerusalem with the intention of punishing severely the Jews. But Jaddua, the High Priest, being warned in a dream or a vision, arrayed himself in pontifical attire and went out to meet the conqueror, attended by a vast train of Priests in their sacerdotal robes, and people in white raiment, and that the Grecian conqueror reverently approached him, and bent himself before

him ; for at Dio, in Macedonia, he had seen a vision of this person, who had encouraged him to proceed and promised him the conquest of Asia. This narrative of course is disputed by modern classical historians, who, unlike the classics, disdain every fact or anecdote that seems to reveal a divine agency in the regulation of human affairs ; but it beautifully illustrates the first meeting of the two great Missions of the Divine Drama, never thenceforth to be separated ; and we know no visionary anecdote in the whole history of civilisation that seems more likely to be true. The Mission of Alexander was a great political apostleship. His marvellous daring could only be the result of uncommon faith in Divine Protection ; and the most natural means of creating that faith are those very simple and natural phenomena which natural philosophers do not believe. Dreams and visions are as common as pebbles ; and diamonds and rubies are as natural as pebbles, though not so common. Why a pebble dream should be natural, and a diamond one supernatural or unnatural, only an unnatural philosopher can understand. We can believe in the naturality of both pebbles and diamonds, and can also believe that, when men have missions of a great and special character to perform, they have special directions by special means of a rare description. There is plenty of these in reserve, in the secret places of Nature, with which our philosophers are but little acquainted. How-

ever, let it pass ; and let the men who pride themselves in a philosophy that rejects every idea of a Divine superintending agency and direction, go on with their prelections. They are only a labyrinth without the clew.*

The Mission of Greece now took possession of all the East, except the land of the Primordial Mission ; for, though it subdued that politically, it could not combine with it : the time had not yet come. That people must dwell alone : it must not be reckoned amongst the nations. They may trample it, but they cannot amalgamate with it. However, a certain correspondence now began. The Jews mingled greatly with the Greeks, and cultivated commerce throughout the whole Eastern Empire, and established themselves in all the cities of Syria and Egypt, and wherever Greeks went, Jews followed ; and though each people ever lived apart, they learned the habits and customs of each other. But the Jews learned more than the Greeks ; for,

* The principal reason for the rejection of this anecdote of the meeting of Alexander and Jaddua is, that it is recorded by Josephus, and not by Arrian, the author of the *Anabasis of Alexander*. But by parity of reasoning, Judas did not hang himself ; for the suicide is only recorded by Matthew, and not by Mark, Luke, or John. Moreover, when allusion is made to his death in another part of Scripture, the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, he is said to have died by a fall, apparently by accident, from a great height. Hypercriticism can easily sweep clean the floor of history, and leave nothing but a cloud of dust. Whenever a sect or party, or a Robinson Crusoe, in literature, wants to get rid of a fact, a broom, a pickaxe, or a shovel will ever be found ready at hand to do the job.

being the smallest in number and least influential, and also least accomplished, their language and civilisation attracted no attention, and were regarded merely as a species of barbarism. The Bible, however, was translated into Greek soon after the Macedonian Conquest, and at the same time their own Rabbinical philosophy began to borrow the logic of the Greeks ; and from this time the Mishna, or the Second Law, the Law of Human Interpretation, was superadded to their Divine Law, and these two became the *Divine Humanity* of the law, which to this day rules over the dispersed of Judah.

Jews and Greeks are the parents of civilisation. We see them now mixed. They have both also gone down into Egypt once more. Alexandria is full of them, and the Schools of Athens and the Synagogues of Jerusalem are both transplanted there. Both are prepared to start afresh from the primitive source of civilisation. For what reason they are there collected they know not, and perhaps conjecture not : each man follows his own individual vocation. But a singular series of political events and military movements has brought them there, and there each pursues his own peculiar destiny, holds his own faith, and solves his own problems, after the fashion of his country. It is the same in Syria. There are Ghettos everywhere—urban districts where Jews congregate, and live apart, eat apart and think apart from Greeks, but meet them in the

shops and the markets, and buy and sell, and talk of wars and rumours of wars, and, it may be, sometimes of philosophy and the arts.

The intercourse began 300 years before Christ, and continued with little interruption even after the Roman Conquest. This only brought the third great mission to the same primordial region, that all three might there commence the great struggle, or the combination of the threefold cord that cannot be broken. That curious process we shall see in due time. Meanwhile there is nothing particular to specify in the subsequent mission of Greece, after the conquest of the East and the South ; for there it merely planted its own civilisation, and cultivated its own philosophy and arts; declining however from the brilliance and the purity of the ancient models in the more extensive arena of political and commercial activity, intrigue and luxury, and thus exposing itself to inevitable defeat by a less luxurious race fresh from the simpler and more barbarous regions of the North and the West. But whilst each conquers, each is also conquered. No mission can ever be annihilated. The Divine Decree is for ever. Each is invested with its own weapon, and with its own weapon it prevails, and beats its conqueror, who conquers in return with another instrument. Victories and defeats therefore are common to all. Fear not. Steel will not conquer spirit, and spirit, until purified, will not conquer steel. Philosophy will puzzle faith till faith be

pure, and faith will withstand and repress philosophy till philosophy be wise. When the struggle begins we shall see the effects of antagonism and union ; but that requires a great primordial fact to commence it. Until the Christian Epoch, these two or three commissioners only jostle one another in the streets, and look upon each other as irreconcilable opposites. A great event will bring all these three missions together, and twist or rather entangle them like a cord, to the astonishment of recusants, as well as their own.

GENERAL REVIEW.

In Poetry and Prose, in Philosophy, in Logic and Rhetoric, in Physics and Metaphysics—in all that is embraced in the idea of intellectual cultivation—the Greeks take the lead of all other nations. They first gave a method and a consecutive character to logical compositions, systematic form and beauty of design to poetry. They first broke down the wall of partition that divides the physical from the metaphysical world ; invaded the mystic regions of spirit and essence ; analysed their forms and combinations, and revealed their elements. The spiritual world was discovered by the Greeks. The Jews, with a spiritual God, never were a spiritual people. They saw visions and heard voices,

but they did not penetrate, with their metaphysical being, the spirit land from which those visions and voices were commissioned. In the richest descriptions of a future state of Redemption, their prophets never transcended the terrestrial and the sensual. The future heaven of the Jews was earth, and earth only, with plenty of corn to eat and wine to drink. "Ye shall grow up as calves in the stall," said the prophets to that people; "Ye shall build houses and inhabit them, plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them;" but a spirit world was never described, for it was never entered; and the sensuous understanding alone was addressed. It was far otherwise with the spiritual Greeks; for with material gods they became a spiritual people, who visited that world within the mind which none but the highest order of men can reach, and who alone, of all the nations of the world, invented a language wherewith to express metaphysical ideas. Little does the world know how much it is indebted to that one people for the richness of meaning in the words which it uses. The spirit of Greece is incorporated for ever with the tongue of every civilised nation. We have ever borrowed, and still continue to borrow, from its inexhaustible resources. Almost all the technical language of science is Greek; and such common words as Theology, Philosophy, Geography, Geology, and a thousand such, are merely compounded of Greek words, or adopted from Greek into Western

tongues. It was only by the Greek language that the primitive doctrines of the Christian Church were logically expressed and worked into their present ecclesiastical form. There was no other language in the world at the time sufficiently furnished with metaphysical resources to admit of a spiritual controversy. Cicero the orator has remarked, in his book of the "Nature of the Gods," that several Romans, deeply conversant with Greek learning, were unable to communicate a knowledge of it to their countrymen, because they considered it impossible to express in Latin what they had learned in Greek; so little adapted was the Latin language, even in the time of Julius Cæsar, for conducting a spiritual or metaphysical discussion: and in after years, when this deficiency was supplied by the Latin Philosophers and the Fathers of the Latin Church, it was only by the copious introduction of Greek words into Latin. So true it is that when God gives a mission to any one people, it is found impossible for any other people to supersede the first in any other way than by borrowing the gift in which the mission is included. In the gift of the Greek tongue a spiritual mission was conveyed. That tongue was cultivated by a spiritual people; and Providence, in due time, employed it alone in elaborating the doctrines of a spiritual church in the infancy of its being.

No nation ever became great without passing through the ordeal of a metaphysical controversy.

and no nation that ever passes through such a controversy can fail to distinguish itself, and take the lead in the march of intellect, in proportion to the energy which it has displayed in the conflict. Great as the Romans were in arms, they felt their inferiority to the Greeks in all the elegant arts. In Greece alone were the great schools and colleges for young Romans. There alone they could acquire the intellectual accomplishments of the age. It was only in politics that Rome conquered Greece. In literature and art Greece conquered Rome. In the outward acquisition of power Rome was the greatest, but in the inward attainment of intellectual and æsthetical culture, Greece takes the precedence. Rome gave laws to the territorial world, but Greece legislated for the world of taste. And still Greece gives laws in its own peculiar sphere ; for every work of God is for ever, and every national mission has its abiding influence, which stretches down to posterity like the comet's tail, though the body of the comet has long ago set beneath the political horizon.

ACT THIRD.—*The Roman Mission.*

SCENE FIRST.

THE ROMANS AND THEIR POLITICAL EMPIRE.

THE Third Act of the Drama not only enlarges the arena of civilisation, but increases its power and magnifies its object. The principle to be developed is now of a very different nature. It is neither the prological and absolute Law as represented by Revelation, nor the logical and the relative Liberty as represented by Philosophy and the Arts, but it is another element equally indispensable for human progress. It is the physical and intellectual development of Power, Military, Civil and Ecclesiastical, in succession, for the reunion and consolidation of the whole civilised world. The Greeks studied everything, and therefore also war and law, as well as philosophy and the arts ; but they were not exclusively soldiers and lawyers, like the Romans : their liberality forbade their exclusiveness. The Mission of Rome was *Power*. It is indicated in the very name, which is merely Greek for strength ; it may be physical or spiritual, or both, thus prefiguring the two careers of the Empire.

In the first or Hebrew Mission there was no

power of development. Everything was fixed. In the second or Greek Mission the details of ancient civilisation were all elaborately brought out in a sphere of infinite division, rivalry and competition. In the third, the art of combining and centralising these is alone consulted; so exclusively consulted as to make the Romans pride themselves, not in their genius for any of the refinements of art, or the cultivation of science, but in being *Rerum Domini*, lords of everything, lords of the world.

Romanos Rerum Domines, gentemque togatam.

This is another idea of unity—not the Jewish idea, for that was exclusive and religious—involving not only a unity of faith, but a unity of rites and ceremonious observances. This is a political or tributary unity—a unity admitting of diversity of belief and religious customs, in the former part of its mission, but afterwards, when it has passed the bridge from the ancient to the modern world, becoming *quasi*-Jewish and attempting to enforce uniformity of practice and faith by its own available means—power, spiritual and temporal. The Roman unitary idea, however, is always greater than that of the Jews, less genealogical, more spiritual and universal, affording ample opportunities for all classes of men, and all people and nations, to join the great imperial union, and receive without reference to birth or blood, the rights and privileges of Roman Citizens in ancient

and of Roman Catholics in modern times. In Pagan times it attempts, with a liberal spirit, to establish a unity upon diversity. In Christian times it endeavours to destroy diversity and establish absolute unity.

To realise this unitary idea politically, the first indispensable requisite is that of a compact well-protected territorial unity, in which the municipal and imperial plant is to be raised. The scene of the first act was continental and secluded; protected chiefly by desert, in which, at the most, only a barren species of liberty can be enjoyed. That of the second was chiefly insular, in which the utmost freedom of social and commercial intercourse that the times permitted was easily attainable; attended, however, by that antagonism which cannot fail to arise from the juxtaposition of rival and independent states. The arena of the third is, very appropriately, a small, compact peninsula, sufficiently large to enable it to exercise all the arts of war—of subjugation and organisation—on an extensive scale, before it be compelled to resort to the sea, which is ultimately indispensable for extending the limits of its empire. Such a peninsula is Italy; devised, as if on purpose, to carry on the westward movement of Civilisation. Situated in the only spot where the Drama required such a particular form of territory, and especially adapted for an embryo model of a universal empire, by being placed in the midst of that sea which by the ancients was

regarded as the middle of the earth, and therefore denominated the Mediterranean—it afforded all the facilities for universal conquest that the theatre of civilisation at the time demanded, and could not fail to suggest the idea to a growing and a prosperous people.

Of all the spots in the wide world, there is none so analogically characterised as Italy for the seat of the capital of a juvenile form of universal dominion. It is not only the most conveniently formed and situated peninsula, but the most volcanic region in Europe. Perhaps there is none in the habitable world that exceeds it as a territorial focus of subterranean fire, Iceland alone excepted—an isolated or sterile region beyond the limits of the *Orbis Romanus*. Europe is the blackest region in a volcanic map, and the blackest spot in Europe is the Italian Peninsula. It is Mount Sinai in Arabia translated into another shape and language—Peter the Rock in a new position, and with new characteristics. It is a bed of lava, volcanic tuff, and scorïæ ; a land of earthquakes innumerable and living volcanoes ; a fierce, a threatening, alternately cold and hot, stable and tremulous country, in which Nature appears in all her excesses of love and hatred, tenderness and cruelty ; ever vigorous, whether in the exercise of mercy or in the discipline of judgment. It is the Rock of Horeb transferred, transformed, and modernised ; and the new Roman Law, of which it is the birthplace, is the old endowed with a new

voice, and invested with another character, speaking with man's understanding, and magnifying the idea of law by ascribing to it, first, the highest order of human authority—that is, power—and when foiled in its human aspirations, assuming the Divine and elevating the simple idea of mere humanity in its military legions, up to the idea of the Divine Humanity as developed, claimed, or asserted in its Papal infallibility and its great spiritual army.

The Mission of Rome was political and ecclesiastical, in the constructive sense of the words. To her it was given to organise the nations of Western Christendom, and establish a policy in State and Church that should last for ages, and become a root from which all future legislation should ramify and develop itself. The type of her future history is written in the lives of her first two kings, whether these two kings be regarded as real personages or not. They are none the less prophetic if they are to be taken as mere idealities. Modern scholarship has acquired a habit of throwing a cloud of suspicion on every ancient name with which is associated the idea of the miraculous or the supernatural, which only means the unusual or exceptional. Whether it be itself unwise in indulging this critical skepticism to excess or not, it would be irrelevant here to inquire. But there may be wisdom in that historical modesty which accepts the general truth, if not the particular details, of the ancient traditions of all nations,

regarding the spiritual communion of ancient times. Even in our own day we see these reputed hallucinations again appearing in greater number than ever ; and it is not more difficult to believe in the real existence of Numa Pompilius, and that he retired to a garden and held communion with the Spirit Egeria, who dictated all the religious rites and ceremonies, the pontifical, augural, flaminal, and vestal constitution of the Eternal City, the future Queen of Nations, than it is to believe in the existence of an American Judge of the Supreme Court, or a Governor of Wisconsin, or any other American Medium, who professes, like Numa, to receive long letters from a departed spirit, and publish volumes of books, every word of which has been received by dictation from the invisible world. Those were days of spiritual manifestations, and all the world believed them ; upon what evidence they best knew—we can only conjecture. But whether Romulus and Numa, the first two Kings of Rome, were real historical personages or not, they are prophecies, and distinctly foreshadow the twofold character and destiny, the State and the Church, of the Roman Empire.

The Political Mission of the Romans is first developed, but by the aid and under the sanction of the most sincere and devout religious belief that the world at that time possessed, in a national or collective sense. Deeply and most sincerely imbued with the prevailing faith of his age, and

disposed to receive with honour and adoration every finite god of the nations which he subdued, the ancient Roman fought and conquered even more than the Jew, under the auspices of Religion ; and the Sacramentum, or Roman soldier's oath, was justly considered the basis of Roman military courage. He was charitable and catholic, more so than the Roman Catholic now is ; for he believed in all religions, though he very naturally preferred his own, and even forbade the introduction of foreign rites into the Metropolis of the Empire. But even this primeval prejudice at last gave way, as his dominion extended ; and one by one he picked up the theologies of the world, till he came at last to the Jewish God, and wondered and discredited, but finally perceived that the idea was compatible with the unity of the Empire, and might cap the pyramid of the Great Superstructure. He raised a tower of the gods of the nations, and put the Absolute One on the top of it, when he had realised his own idea of Empire.

The Roman Mission, having for its object collective and politically organised or territorial unity, begins with a city, a local and material type. Its hopes of success are the hopes of a city, not of a nation or a family ; and it increases its numbers, not by generation chiefly like Israel, but by adoption and conquest. It is dependent solely on its army and its wisdom ; war and law therefore are the two great subjects of Roman study. Superadd Religion

and the three together constitute a triune feature which exhibits all that is peculiar in the character of a Roman. Collective unity was not forgotten, even under the kings, in the feeble beginning of the Eternal City. The Roman People, whatever that word at first meant, was then declared to be the source of all authority in the State. It was divided into three tribes, and each tribe into ten *Curiae*, and these thirty *Curiae* formed an assembly, the *Comitia Curiata*, from which alone all authority legitimately issued. Afterwards the meaning of the word "people" was enlarged by the extension of the franchise; and they were divided into centuries according to their wealth and age. By this arrangement all the citizens, patricians and plebeians, possessed of a certain amount of property (women, slaves, foreigners and outcasts excepted), were included, and entitled to vote in the *Comitia Centuriata*, which then became what the *Comitia Curiata* had been, the Supreme Court of Law. But the arrangement was such that the patricians at first had immeasurably the advantage over the plebeians; for, out of 193 centurial divisions, if the first 18 only agreed, they could carry any measure in spite of the remainder. The struggle of the plebeian majority, for several hundred years, to attain to equality of influence with the patrician orders, constitutes one of the principal internal features of the history of Rome. This equality was at last accomplished

B.C. 288, and then the Roman People at large, without any distinction of rank or class in voting, became the only legitimate source of Roman Legislation.

Passive, however, in all that regards the making of laws, a people must always be, and therefore Roman laws, as usual, originated with individuals, and were accepted by the popular assemblies ; and in the year 452 B.C., they are reported to have first conceived the idea of having a written code of laws, after having done for 300 years without one. They then appointed ten men, Decemvirs, to draw up this code, which they did in ten tables. But these not being deemed sufficient, Decemvirs were again appointed, who added two more of what Cicero calls "*leges iniquæ*"—very bad or unjust laws. These ten tables, and two tables, sanctioned by the people in their centurial assembly, became the foundation of the written law of Rome, and hence, also, of the civil law of Christendom ; in which princes and nobles, soldiers and clergymen, as well as doctors in ecclesiastical law, still delight to accept the graduated honours, D.C.L. This was the first attempt of the old Romans to make a code of laws, and it was the last. All Roman laws took root in, and afterwards developed themselves from, these twelve tables, which were familiar to all the citizens ; for the children were taught to repeat them at school, as Christian children the Ten Commandments. Laws

innumerable were passed after them, till a tower of legislative Babel was erected ; but no other code of Roman law was ever compiled till Justinian, a Christian Emperor, after some imperfect attempts by Theodosius and others, by his own imperial authority accomplished it, and thus converted the old Pagan Roman into a Christian Roman legislation. But during that long interval of a thousand years, the highest honours of the state were accessible to those who distinguished themselves in the knowledge of law ; than which no surer means existed of securing the favour and the votes of the people. "It was the custom of senators, renowned for their wisdom and experience," says Dr. Middleton, in his "Life of Cicero," "to walk every morning up and down the Forum, as a signal of their offering themselves freely to all who had occasion to consult them, not only in cases of law, but in their private and domestic affairs. But in later times they chose to sit at home with their doors open, on a kind of throne or raised seat, like the Confessors in foreign Churches, giving access and audience to all people. This was the case of the two Scævolas, especially the Augur, whose house was called the Oracle of the City, and who, in the Marsic war, when worn out with age and infirmities, gave free admission every day to all the citizens as soon as it was light, nor was ever seen by any in his bed during the whole war." Such generous and dignified behaviour is in full accordance with the character of a

people who claim, with some plausibility of self-commendation, to be the white-robed nation.*

The Roman people were citizens by profession, and only soldiers by the accidents of war. There was no standing army in the Old Republic. The citizen was called out to fight the battles of the city; and he returned to his own agricultural or municipal vocations, when the campaign was over. Every Roman, therefore, was occasionally a soldier, but always a citizen. The Jew was not a citizen; for, though no man glories in his metropolis more than he, it is not in the light of a municipality, but the capital of a nation, that he regards it. The municipal is the first political form that Liberty, or collective unity, assumes. We see the first dawnings of it in Tyre and Sidon, the West of Palestine, and from thence it crept through Asia Minor, and its islands, to the Grecian Isles, where the idea received a fuller and a freer development amongst the Hellenic States. From thence it was, no doubt, imported into Italy, where it universally prevailed at the time when Rome commenced that remarkable

* The usual toga (that is, the robe or cloak) of the Roman was white, that is, undyed; but when he became a candidate for an office, and canvassed for votes, he whitened his toga still more with chalk, in order to signify his purity from corruption—a whitened sepulchre at last. For this whitening he was called *candidatus*; that is, a whitened man. Hence our word *candidate*. Ambition for office was called *cretata ambitio*, or chalked ambition. We have it still: all our hustings orators chalk themselves, and blacklead their opponents.

career which led her at last to embrace the smaller municipalities of the world within her own capacious and formidable grasp, and thus become a municipal tyranny herself when she had subjugated the ruder forms of such tyranny throughout the world. The town or city is the seat and representative of Greek and Roman Power. Oriental Power is represented by the individual, the Absolute One. The King or the Conqueror at the head of his army, wherever he went, was the source of Oriental authority. But the Roman General derived his authority from the city that commissioned him; and the fortune of Rome was ever regarded as a higher idea than the fortune of an individual. "Is not this Great Babylon" said Nebuchadnezzar, "which I have built, for the honour of my name and the glory of my kingdom?" Here the individual has the precedence of the city, and assumes the supremacy over the collective body. But in Western civilisation the collective body asserted and maintained the precedence, and this collectivity, which is the source and the cradle of liberty, was revealed in all the divisional states of Greece, not excepting Sparta itself, whose royalty was double and limited, and at last in Rome as the mistress of the world. So that it was not the individual or monarchical principle which either laid the foundation or upraised the superstructure of the Roman Empire, but the type or limited form of the universal or democratic principle, which is represented by a town enclosed within walls.

It is important to observe, however, that this town was not a nation, nor had the idea of a nation at that time an intelligible meaning. For, though all called themselves Greeks who spoke the Greek language, yet such Greeks were subdivided into Athenians, Spartans, Corinthians and others, who inhabited a hundred and fifty different cities, or commonwealths, and were only subject to laws that were passed by their own town council or free citizens, for the government of the city and the fields that surrounded it ; and it was the object of this city's ambition to aggrandise itself and subject other cities to its laws, and thus to make a sovereign of a collective body of liverymen, instead of an individual. It was merely another form of royalty and of tyranny ; for, when the city succeeded in subduing other cities, or enslaving classes, it became a sovereign city, and its liverymen a sovereign people, who had no more moral right to tyrannise over other peoples, than one man had to tyrannise over them.

There is no essential difference between the principle of Roman Democracy and Greek Democracy. Their civilisation is that of the sovereignty of the city, and Rome only succeeded in accomplishing that which every Republican city in Greece attempted. But the peninsular situation of Rome was better adapted for early conquest ; and its exclusive application to war and agriculture, its respect for religion and the domestic virtues, and its rejection of Greek

philosophy, poetry and art, and all that had a tendency to promote luxury and effeminacy, for many hundred years, were greatly instrumental in preserving the health and robust vigour of early life, and fostering that pride of moral and physical courage which never fails to decline in the atmosphere of sensuous indulgence and excessive mental or æsthetic refinement. It is unnecessary therefore to characterise the Roman principle of civilisation as anything else than a Greek principle, free from Greek inconveniences, and thus fortunately circumstanced for effecting conquest, and collecting around itself as a nucleus all the other cities and nations of the Mediterranean world. It is the supplement or the culminating point of Greece, her epilogue, that completes the pyramid of her mission ; and therefore, at last, having conquered her territory, it embraces her arts, her philosophy and her science, and is as really subdued by Greece in mind, as Greece by Rome is subdued in body. It is a singular fact that the palmy days of Roman history, the days of Roman innocence and honour, piety and virtue, are the days of Roman ignorance of Greek refinement. Cato the censor sharply rebuked the Senate for not dismissing Carneades the philosopher, and his associates, sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Rome. He greatly feared the corruption of the young Romans, and their neglect of the laws and the magistrates, through the allurements of eloquence and philosophy. He called Socrates a prat-

ing fellow, and predicted the speedy decline of Rome, whenever she began to give way before the charms of Grecian accomplishments. His prophecy was fulfilled, though Plutarch did not live late enough to acknowledge or perceive its wisdom.

But though the principle of Roman Civilisation was essentially the same as that of Republican Greece, there was a fuller development of political liberty, and at the same time a stricter enforcement of law. The Roman people grew larger and more comprehensive of all classes than the Greek people, though both preserved the system of slavery. And the Roman family was a more perfect specimen of domestic order, equality of rights, and due respect for the mind and the feelings of the female sex. Woman held a higher position in Rome than either in Greece or in Judea ; and the Roman matron succeeded in occupying the loftiest pinnacle ever attained by woman in the ancient world. The paternal power in Rome was oppressive. The father had the sole disposal of his own children, the power of life and death, and even of sale. But it was admirably checked by the censorship of public opinion ; and its direct agency at home, in preserving order and investing the character of the *Paterfamilias* with dignity and respect, must ever deter the just and unprejudiced mind from treating the custom with unqualified condemnation. In an age and in a state of society in which the pride, the violence, and natural licentiousness of youth were

all disposed to exceed the limits of modern decorum, the power of the father, though excessive, preserved the equality of the children and protected the sons and the daughters from reciprocal oppression ; and such was the sanctity of married and the general comfort of domestic life, that for the first five hundred years there was not a single instance of divorce amongst the citizens, and the first that took place was unanimously condemned by the censorship of the public. But no sooner were Grecian arts and luxuries freely admitted, and poetry cultivated, and philosophy and all its concomitant skepticism studied, than religion died, morality withered, and a malaria of sensuous excesses in a very few generations blighted the remnant of masculine and feminine virtue in the Roman People. But it removed their prejudices, and liberalised them. It was their transition to another historical position, and higher also.

The history of Rome, from a small City on the Tiber to the Great Empire of the West, two thousand miles in length and a thousand in breadth, and comprehending the whole of Western civilisation, is like the history of the acorn becoming an oak. It is a slow and a gradual increase of seven hundred years in duration, four hundred of which were spent in reducing the little rival cities of Italy, and organising them as the root of the Monarch of the Wood. The struggle with Carthage at last compelled the Romans to provide themselves with

a fleet ; and once on the water, they rode victoriously over its waves, and imposed their laws on "the lands that encircled the sea." Greece was visited, and in due time succumbed. Judea followed, and Egypt, the land of bondage to others, was reduced to bondage herself. Roman governors were appointed everywhere ; Roman laws everywhere took the precedence ; the name of a Roman citizen was everywhere a passport ; all eyes were turned to Rome, as the centre of Political Power ; and when at last the Empire succeeded the Republic, the Pagan Millennium appeared, in the peaceful and contented mind of the most elegant poet of the Augustan Age, to have dawned on the world, predicted long by Gentile Prophetesses, as by Jewish Prophets. And the Pæan which he sang on the lofty theme, has formed the model of a loftier strain on the Jewish Messiah, by an English Bard whose Nymphs of Solyma completed the song which the Sicilian Muses of Virgil began.

The Augustan Age, which sums up the history of republican Rome and all the monarchies, republics, and municipalities of the old world, is one magnificent *oasis* in the desert of antiquity, in which, more than at any former or subsequent period, the arts and sciences were cultivated and patronised, from the deserts of Arabia to the shores of the Atlantic. At this miraculous period the Latin language, which had for seven hundred previous years been almost barren of thought, unversant with poetry and

awkward in philosophy, and only great in council and legislative dictation, was suddenly seized by all the Muses at once, and raised to perfection without or with little previous effort, as if Nature were in haste to illustrate, in the reign of one chosen individual, the splendour and the happiness of a universal Empire of Peace, the hope and aspiration of men from the first, before she taught them the terrible and disastrous lesson, that a long and a fearful struggle was yet to be endured, before they were prepared to realise that *beau idéal* of justice, of which poets had long sung, and philosophers discoursed, and for the hope of which martyrs and confessors were just about to bleed for many generations.

This age of triumph closes the history of the old world. It can go no farther, except through a long transitional state of retribution, in which the Empire will suffer the yoke she inflicted, and gradually disgorge the blood and the treasure, the health and the strength, she extracted from others. Like a mighty Giant, another Pantagruel, she has swallowed in succession two primordial nations, Greece and Judea, with their respective missions, and now she must digest them. The work of digestion begins immediately after deglutition. Greece first, with her arts and her philosophies, her wit and her skepticism, her gaiety and profligacy, puzzles the monster, and gives him the belly-

ache ; and then Judea, with her new edition of Divine Revelation, bewilders him quite. But being bound in honour to receive the gods of the people whom he conquers, he receives them all in succession, as they arrive, until one approaches who has not a shape, and he boggles at this, because of its magnitude and incomprehensibility. But it was written in the bond, it was the price of his prosperity, and so he must obey, and take the prescription. We shall see the consequences.

No doubt Augustus believed that he and his successors were about to realise the mission of the Messiah. It was the climax of civilisation. The work, to a Pagan mind, seemed almost accomplished. The sword, in his estimation, was sacred ; he had little idea of a higher mission that could supersede it. A new religion, that would in time subvert the whole idea of the empire, was probably a thought that never flickered through his mind ; far less could he ever have conjectured that that new faith would come triumphantly from Palestine, where men were Atheists, as all men were accounted who did not worship the images of the gods. Yet just in the spot where he would have least expected it, and from amongst a people least likely to succeed in such a propaganda, a child rose up—a mysterious child—a rival to princes, to gods, to all principalities and powers held in reverence amongst men. Augustus was a man, High Priest and

Emperor, when the Messenger of the New and the Holier Dispensation was born. But no time was lost ; the Assailant of the Empire had appeared on the stage, so soon as the idea of the Empire was realised. "The lion was coming up from the thicket ; the destroyer of the Gentiles was on his way."

THE NEW OR CHRISTIAN DRAMA ;

BEING THE FREE ASPECT OF THE ORIGINAL JEW-
ISH ABSOLUTE MISSION, OR ITS FEMININE COR-
RELATIVE.

PROLOGUE

WE now return to Judea, to begin *de novo*. The Trilogue seems to be completed. Rome has apparently conquered, with a mission that gathers all the three by power, but not by faith. Jerusalem and all Palestine are subject to the great Empire. Greece also is prostrate before the Sovereign Lord of the world. Paganism is triumphant ; and the people who obtained the promise of a final triumph, and a unitary faith for all nations, are despised as fanatics, and almost themselves disposed to doubt the soundness of their own reason. But that which happens in every drama, happened in this also ; what no one expected : neither Jews nor Pagans triumphed. A new movement began, which very speedily bewildered them all. The Jews were as much disappointed as the Romans, and yet the con-

quering principle came from their religion. The new Rival Drama begins just where the old began. It is the same Drama, but the liberal portion of it in reference to the Law. It is the typically free in reference to the typically absolute. It is the woman coming out of the man ; not subject to the law directly, or in the same sense as he was, but yet subject, by reason of an undefined and mystic relationship with him. Woman is man translated into a softer and more indulgent meaning. She is the type of liberty ; the source of multitude, as the bringer forth of children ; and in this sense also, the source of division, or the multiplication of parts. There is no collectivity in woman, as in man. She lives in dispersion. She does not organise her numbers in armies and priesthoods, as man does. Her sphere is domestic ; and the family, or the social circle, is the largest group with which she is familiar. She is not only the type of multiplication, but of scattered number. The old Jewish Church was a male exclusive Church. It could not multiply, and woman held an inferior position in it. The Christian Church is the Jewish woman who enlarges the tent, and makes room for the multitude of her forthcoming children. She does this by indulgence, by relaxing the liberty of the old law, and translating it into another meaning. Notwithstanding, she still preserves a Jewish characteristic—a certain exclusiveness and strictness—but it is less defined, less absolute ; admitting of indulgence,

and mercy, and absolution, and, true to the female instinct, trusting more to the natural promptings of love than to the observance of prescribed rules.

This woman, or New Drama, though coming out of the Jews, is represented by the Greeks ; for they are the free and the liberal people. The New Testament was written in Greek. The Gospel was first taught in its liberal and Gentile form, discussed and fashioned into doctrinal shape, in the Greek tongue ; and the Jew, by adopting it, became more, whilst the old Greek, by adopting it, became less, liberal. It was a Jewish liberality that was inculcated by it. It was the first act of the Gospel of Liberty, not the last. Liberty grows as law grows ; and the first degree in the graduated and progressive series of the New Drama, is merely the seed of the future plant. It is to the end of Liberty what Sinai is to the end of Law. Absolutism, however, grows also, for it is as good as Liberty ; and, therefore, whilst the Jews became more liberal by receiving the Gospel, the Greeks and Romans became more absolute. A cross movement takes place between the two opposite principles. The Greeks and Romans go Eastward to Jerusalem for their new faith, but the Christian Jews go Westward for its development. It is the Era of the Cross ; and Absolutism and Liberty both grow in the bosom of the same church, and struggle together like Esau and Jacob.

The New Drama combines at last with the Old, and becomes one with it; but it has its own two distinct acts to represent its separate existence for a season. These acts are represented by eras; they do not, like the scenes, run parallel in time. They are definitely and unalterably fixed in the records of history, and they admit of no other division. Thus, for instance, the first act represents primitive Christianity in a subject state, like the woman to her master, the Roman Law. This is her exclusive and Jewish state, in which she lived apart from the world, and regarded it as pollution. The second act represents her union with her master—the political establishment of Christianity—the alliance between a Christian wife and a Roman husband. This began with the Emperor Constantine's conversion, and continued until the final destruction of all the old Pagan gods, and the Justinian Reformation of the Roman Law, when the Old Law was Christianised or baptised, and became the Civil Law of Christendom. Then the Popish Hierarchy began to be established as a definite and an absolute ruling power—the offspring of the union of Roman Law and Jewish Christianity in one. Here, therefore, the third act begins; but as it begins in the third act of the elder Drama, and at the same time combines with it in the capital of the Roman Empire, the two Dramas here become one, and commence that Great Millennial Reign of the middle ages which appeared to the darkened minds of the

first-born of the Universal Couple, in that long triumph of the Spiritual Power, to be the realisation of the promise to the Church.

A representative of each era and its principle is preserved, however, during the long succession of changes. There are primitive Christians who protest against the political establishment of Christianity, like the Jews against Christianity itself. There are political Christians who respect the union of Church and State, but protest against their fusion, or the supremacy of the spiritual power. Each principle perpetuates itself by preserving its representatives; and even the old Pagans, who dare not show their faces, put on masks and convert the images of the gods into images of the saints, and the Pagan rituals, vestments and festivals into Christian analogues that satisfy the natural passion for such things, and at the same time enable old Paganism to live whilst it seems to be dead. Every work of God is for ever, and there is no new thing under the sun. Forms change and principles ramify; but they all derive their life and energy from one unchangeable source, and all are branches of one tree.

We shall distinguish the two following chapters as Acts of the New or Christian Drama; but at the same time they may be regarded as Scenes of the ROMAN or THIRD ACT, to which they necessarily belong. It is a transitional period, representing a great struggle between the three members of

the first trilogy of the Drama, in the third act, and ending in a partial victory, partial defeat, and partial combination or fusion of all the three. This partial combination will convert old Political Rome into new Spiritual Rome, and begin a new trilogy when it has passed the Bridge that leads from the olden to the modern times.

Act First of the New Drama ;

BEING ALSO

SCENE SECOND OF THE THIRD ACT OF THE ELDER DRAMA.

TIME.—*From the Christian Epoch to the Establishment of
Christianity, A.D. 323.*

LET men talk of chance and seem to believe or comprehend it—let philosophers discourse of necessity and circumstance, and look as wise as they may in the utterance of words impenetrably dark—let historians affirm and critics dispute the facts of history, and the interminable series of their primary and secondary causes—they will never seem or be wiser than simple Faith when it says that Providence chose the best epoch of time, and the most appropriate place, and the most suitable people, and spirit of non-resistance and endurance, for commencing the attack on the old civilisation of the world, and translating it all into another and a higher meaning. The Empire was at its meridian ; the crisis was come ; yet what philosopher ever could have imagined the character of the coming age ? No one even knew the character of his own age, or the mission of its various elements. Had

he known this, he might have foreseen the result ; for nothing could be more natural than that which followed ; but it was a higher order of natural law than men were familiar with.

It is by translations that the progress of society is conducted. One era transforms itself into another, like one language into another, distinct and different in outward appearance, but internally similar or even identical. One structure rises above another, and rests upon it. The plumula comes out of the root and the stock out of the plumula, and the branch out of the stock, and the twig out of the branch, and the fruit out of the twig. The one does not grow independent of its predecessor, but feeds upon it, and makes itself out of it. And thus the new world, whose bud appeared amongst the mountains of Judah, in the reign of Augustus, fed upon the empire of Pagan civilisation which preceded it, and formed itself out of the substance of its predecessor. The one was the egg ; the other was the chick.

Little did the Messenger of the new era teach that can be called either new or peculiar. He was, strictly speaking, a Jew in religion, with a little more of the free and the logical spirit. He was even exclusive as a Jew, and forbade his disciples to preach to the Gentiles. He was the climax and representative of the Jewish Mission, and contained merely the germ of its successor, as the first man the woman. He added a logical interpretation to the prological voice of the Law and the Prophets.

He translated its vulgar, into a higher and a purer, sense; but even this he did so very cautiously, that it was not till after his disappearance from the earth, that his disciples became *gradually* aware of the amount of liberty involved in the germ of his mission. His doctrine was an acorn adapted for growing; not the full-grown oak—something calculated by its nature to become formidable, but not formidable in its infancy; something also calculated to change and be changed, to assimilate in part, as well as to resist in part, the elements of the three great acts of the Drama, which were now comprehended, but not intelligibly combined, in the trinity of the Empire. It was not for the Jews alone that he came, but for the Greeks and the Romans also; and the germ of his mission must therefore be endowed with power of assimilation adapted for each of the three. Destined to attack and supersede the existing institutions, and nourish itself out of them, it selects, like the Spirit of the Mosaic Economy, the growing and most vital element of Divine Unity, in the first act of the Drama, to begin a new and Divine Drama of its own, in the bosom of the other, with the simple and natural object of eating into and feeding upon all around it. But it gives that Divine Unity the Gentile form of the Divine Humanity, and it even multiplies the unity into three, as if by degrees to rise to the reconciliation of Jewish unity with Gentile multiplicity. Not invested with

the physical power which belonged to Rome by name and by commission, but possessed of the spirit and power of Elias—a mysterious, healing power, a power of peace and not of war—it enrobes itself with a new and higher order of authority, and lays the foundation of a Spiritual Empire, with a feminine basis; *i. e.*, a spirit of non-resistance, endurance and patience, the spirit with which it gains its greatest victories, and the spirit with which it first subdues the great Empire of Rome. The doctrine of Divine Unity, beaten without a body by the sword, but pre-ordained to triumph, takes up the spirit for a weapon, and the body for a residence, and abandoning the whole Dispensation of Moses as the butterfly does its chrysalis, it enlarges at once the sphere of its action, to grapple with its enemy in every corner of the Empire. God is now no longer a spirit only, but a man also. Jerusalem is now no longer a locality, but an omnipresent city that hath eternal foundations, on the Rock of Ages, in the Kingdom of Heaven which is within us. The Temple is no longer the work of men's hands, but the bodies and souls of men, the arch of the blue heavens whose Architect is Divine. Sacrificial offerings are no longer cattle or beasts, but the Divine Humanity itself, as well as the evil passions of men, and their living bodies purified from evil. The people of God are no longer the children of the faithful Abraham by blood alone, but his children by faith. The law is no longer ceremo-

nial, but moral. Doctrine is no longer ritual, but spiritual. Everything that was, remains in existence, but its character is changed. It is translated into another meaning, enlarged, refined, sublimated, evaporated ; but as all these processes are natural and legitimate in the works of creation, they are equally so in the works of Providence, which is Nature ; and it is as essential to the progress of Religion and Politics to sublimate an old dogma or an old law, as in science and art to sublimate a solid by heat into vapour. That sublimation, moreover, increases its power ; for, as the vapour of water is more elastic and powerful than water, so is the sublimated form of the Old Roman, Greek, and Jewish Economies, in the New Christian Trilogy, compounded of the three, more powerful than either in their ancient condition ; and so also will a still farther sublimation of civilisation be more potent than this, when at last it is effected by the Universal Solvent.

The new idea was admirably adapted for drawing into itself, as into a vortex, the power of the world that then was. Not the whole of it, however, for the doctrine was not yet perfect ; it grew from imperfection or immaturity upward, as its founder grew in wisdom and knowledge ; and it also foretold its own mature successor in the latter days. It had a Mediterranean and Western, not an Oriental and universal mission. Its undefined and ambiguous character prevented uniformity, and thus

characterised it as a Gentile mission ; and it was so susceptible of numberless meanings as to render it possible for every diversity of religious dogma to claim affinity with its leading principles and recondite interpretations. In this very ambiguity lay the chief power of the vortex. In this lay the force of assimilation and the source of controversy, the great medium of human instruction ; and by this means Paganism itself was absorbed without being annihilated. What was the intention of Divine Providence in respect to Christianity, or anything else, no man can tell except by the facts of history, and by merely taking it for granted that the plans of Divine Providence were never defeated. These facts of history show us a gradual drawing in of the elements of Paganism by Christianity, and a triune combination at last of the preponderating features of the three great missions.

In doing this the new idea arranges itself in the form of a Drama, beginning with its Genesis, in bondage to Roman Law, and actually going down into Egypt, in the capital of which, the city of Alexandria, the original doctrines of the Church were chiefly elaborated ; but at the same time making a veritable Egypt of the whole Empire, in which it undergoes the most fearful test of sincerity to which human nature can be subjected in its primitive or passive (that is, feminine) struggle with the religion of Paganism. Branded with a Jewish name and character—despised, as everything

Jewish was, and treated by philosophers and an age that was tolerant of every religion but one, as "a malignant superstition," by nature intolerant, and morally and spiritually aggressive, and therefore persecutive—it speedily provoked that persecution of itself which it was evidently disposed to practise upon others. But before it was invested with power to enforce, it was ordained to show that, of all other religions, it was best fitted to endure what it was best inclined to inflict. Tortured with equuli, or wooden horses—the Roman racks—with iron pincers and hooks; beaten with rods and leather thongs, with scorpions or whips, and sinews twisted into whips; scorched with torches of pine-tree or pitch; pricked with goads, and burnt with hot iron plates; boiled in caldrons; stretched on hot iron beds; inclosed in burning limekilns; sawed asunder, tied upon wheels with iron spikes, and stretched on pavements set with spikes; condemned to fight with wild beasts in the Amphitheatre for the amusement of the people; imprisoned, confiscated, degraded, and driven into catacombs to celebrate their worship; their churches demolished, their books destroyed—the Christians increased and multiplied like Israel in Egypt, and looked for an Exodus till an Exodus came and enabled them to use, in due season, almost all these instruments, and many others, with tenfold ferocity against one another; in delirious attempts to establish their own peculiar aspects of the riddle and all-sided mystery of the

new revelation. The Church conquered by endurance, like a woman as it was, until its establishment, when it married a lawyer and a soldier, and took up the sword of steel to assist the sword of the spirit.

Under the pressure of Pagan persecution, which, however, was short, and at very long intervals, the power of passive resistance was great, but it was not indomitable. Compromise early began to play its part ; but feebly at first, for at first it was useless. But in proportion as it became expedient, it was gradually adopted ; and accordingly, in very early times, we see the new religion clothing itself in the vestments of the old, and preparing to accept almost all its ingredients. The Divine Humanity was a Gentile idea, to begin with. The saints very soon began to assume, though timidly and modestly, the place of the gods, as a feeble and imperfect development of the germ of the Sonship of Christ, of whose divinity we are all partakers, by being made members of his mystical body. Images and pictures began to be respected, symbols to be venerated, worship complicated with forms, relics revered, Pagan fasts and feasts transformed into Christian holidays. Many condemned ; the Fathers reproved, bewailed, and entreated ; but popular feeling was too strong to be resisted ; and, though checked and restrained by eloquent remonstrance, it did not fail in effecting a compromise, even under the persecutions, much greater afterwards,

and much more rapidly ; for St. Athanasius even complains that, in his day, they came into the churches, and offered birds and fir-tops to the Mother of God, as they did to Cybele, the mother of the gods. Was there a providential inspiration in this popular feeling ?

The label on the cross of Christ was written in three languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—the Triglot of the old world ; and now the combination of the three Missions was rapidly proceeding, even amidst their apparent antagonism. The Greek and Latin languages were vigorously employed with the Hebrew doctrines ; the language, the logic, and philosophy of the schools of Athens were made use of to work the problems of the new dispensation. Greek habits of thought and of reasoning, Greek materials for thinking, Greek historical records, and models of literature, were all instrumental in forming the character of Christian divines ; and Roman law, and Roman marriage and manners, contributed their share in giving an entirely new and Gentile character to the Jewish original. So that the Gospel, as it came successively and slowly through the hands of the Apostles, the Greek and the Latin Fathers, contracted in its course peculiarities, from the Missions represented by each, proportioned to their power and their magnitude and importance, in the Drama of Civilisation.

The antagonism at first was stronger than the

assimilation. Persecution and adversity strengthened the one and forbade the other ; but in proportion as numbers and wealth increased, sophistry advanced, and made numberless treaties with the ancient customs. They also, in their turn, gave way. The Paganism of the Empire had lost its hold on the faith of the people. Philosophy, without the faith of a Divine Revelation or intervention, was the only respectable form of religion ; and this philosophy tolerated the gods as the dolls of the populace, without regarding them as objects of reverence. Here was a dead religion for a living one to feed upon ! The Empire, moreover, was rapidly exhibiting all the natural symptoms and horrors of decay ; corruption in all its most detestable forms and aspects ; a series of monsters on the throne of the world, whose lives would disgrace the history of savagism ; a degraded senate, a dissolute nobility, an educated class without faith, and with a rapidly deteriorating taste for literature, science, or art ; luxurious, effeminate, and profligate habits ; conspiracies innumerable ; rival emperors, rival armies, civil discord, unprotected provinces, rapine, plunder ; neglected agriculture and commerce ; famines and pestilences ; and (what is worthy of special observation) remarkable earthquakes, which now began to indicate that Heaven itself was co-operating with man in destroying the vestiges of the ancient world. These earthquakes, of which there was a long and frightful series,

began in the East, and desolated by degrees the lands foredoomed by the Prophets of Israel ; and one by one the great and flourishing cities of Palestine and Asia Minor began to be laid in ruins, and deserted by their inhabitants. In one year—A.D. 169—the City of Antioch lost 100,000 persons by an earthquake, and was only reserved for a still more fatal one at a future period. Barbarians also, from the North, brave and resolute, healthy, vigorous, and indomitable, the physical types of the new religionists, and perhaps as nearly akin to the blood of the ten as the Christians to the spirit of the two Tribes of Israel, poured from inexhaustible sources of population on the confines of the doomed and predestinated Empire ; and thus Heaven and earth, the elements and men, the coming God and the departing gods, together combined to send fearful omens of impending dissolution.

Amid all these symptoms of a degenerating world, and the loss of their own political nationality, the Jews adhered like martyrs to their own absolute law and its Rabbinical interpretation, and sneered at the idea of the new religion as a realisation of the promises to their fathers. This protest is a solemn fact. It proves the non-finality of Gentile Christianity. For the Jewish nation, the inheritors of the original Unitary Mission, to be converted to a Divisional Mission, would be an analogical absurdity. It would be a triumph of division over

union, of anarchy over order, of liberty over absolutism, of one indispensable element of social organisation over another. Such a victory is impossible. The conversion of the Jews can only be coincident with the reunion of the Christians ; and the Jew is justified, bound by national honour and by covenant with God, in keeping himself apart from any affinity with an assemblage of heterogeneous, conflicting elements, such as that of Christendom. What law of duty, faith, honour or revelation requires him to become a Gentile and break up the brotherhood of his own united people, who are destined to live apart from the rest of the nations, until the end of the Drama, as a perpetual protest against the finality of a divisional system ? When Unity appears in the Church, the Jew will worship in it ; but never till then. A few Jews may be converted and lost to their people ; but they are merely as a few men who are killed or taken captive in war. The Jewish nation remains the same, steadfast and immoveable, inspired by a power that it cannot resist, and invulnerable to all the arguments of divisional theologians to attempt to persuade it to desert its post, until the final solution of the Great Mystery, "when the people shall be gathered together, and the Kingdoms to serve the Lord." To do otherwise, even if they could, would only be to falsify their own prophecies. When the Christian Era of Divisions began, what else could happen to

the Jews, but a scattering? It was the Era of Division; and when can that scattering cease, but when Gentilism itself ceases? But scatter the Jews as you may, their unity, the soul of their mission, is preserved, and remains even to the last the Dramatic germ of a Universal Reunion. The Divine Drama preverses its unities.

NOTE.—We have compared the first condition of the Christian Church to Egyptian bondage, and also to the First Act of the Elder Drama; that is, the Law of Moses. But it will be recollected that the Law of Moses is itself bondage—the veritable Egypt of the Divine Drama that begins the movement. All bondage is Egypt, and Egypt travels with civilisation to the last, and is the real bondage from which it is completed at the End of the Drama. Hence Rome itself is Egypt, whenever it establishes its absolute law, and becomes a spiritual tyranny. Egypt is translated into successive meanings, as the primitive type of oppression; but the geographical Egypt does not form one of the five parts of the Divine Drama; nor does Moses appear in the book of Genesis at all, but begins his law with Exodus, as Christianity also does with Roman Law, in its second period.

Act Second of the New Drama ;

OR,

SCENE THIRD OF THE THIRD ACT OF THE ELDER DRAMA.

*TIME—From the Establishment of Christianity to the Justinian Reformation, or the Organisation of the Papacy, A.D. 323 to 532, 596, 608.**

DURING the three hundred years of the first act of the Christian Drama, the Christians are said to have undergone ten persecutions. The last, under Diocletian—the most fearful of all—immediately preceded the epoch of their triumph. The Emperor Constantine, Diocletian's successor, received the new faith ; built a new capital with the spoils of the Heathen temples ; transported the statues of the gods to Constantinople, for the decoration of

* These three dates are, first, the date of the Justinian Reformation, when the Roman law was Christianised and the Papal supremacy acknowledged by it ; second, the date of the annexation of Britain to the Papal Church, thus including the scene of the Fifth Act and the extremity of the Western Empire, by Gregory the Great, by many esteemed the founder of the Papal Dictatorship ; and, third, the date of Mahomet's Mission, in the fortieth year of his age. The three constitute the dawn of the Mediæval age, including all the preliminaries necessary for its advent.

the city as works of art ; became the patron of bishops and the umpire of controversies ; and was at once the High Priest of the Pagan and the Political Head of the Christian Religion. He tolerated Paganism and recommended Christianity.

The Exodus was now come ; the Christians were exhilarated beyond description. Every church resounded with pæans of exultation. The most extravagant, false, and absurd hopes were entertained of the glory to God, and the happiness to man, that were now about to be realised by the worldly prosperity of the new faith. The sword was now theirs. They were now invested with power to compel, and even to persecute, if necessary ; and with God on their side, success was inevitable. An enforcing church had never before been clothed with purple. They knew not what a monster that church would become. Without experience of the folly and the danger of the attempt to impose a unity of belief upon men by physical force, they fearlessly encountered it ; and the first step once taken, provocation compelled every one that succeeded.

The toleration of Constantine, arising from a Roman habit of mind, was of short duration. In proportion as he studied the mysteries of the Church, he imbibed the spirit of definite and determined one-sidedness and persecution. The Arian controversy, which commenced immediately with the triumph of Christianity, speedily revealed the respective characters of the combatants. Which-

ever party gained the ascendancy, it employed the argument of the sword to establish its dogmas. Arius was banished and recalled ; Athanasius, his inveterate opponent, was five times exiled from his archiepiscopal diocese, and five times restored. Arian persecuted Trinitarian, and Trinitarian Arian ; and General Councils condemned and justified each. Paul, the Trinitarian Patriarch of Constantinople, was five times banished by his rival, the Arian Macedonius, and dragged at last into the desert and strangled. The people took part in the controversies, like Parisians in a Revolution ; and 3,150 persons lost their lives in one of the Arian and Trinitarian *émeutes* in the streets of the capital. In his final triumph Macedonius invented a wooden engine, by which the sacrament was forced into the mouths and down the throats of reluctant Trinitarians ; whilst the tender breasts of young virgins were compressed between boards, or burnt with red-hot egg-shells, to enforce their acceptance of the consecrated elements from those whom they were taught dogmatically to regard and resist as heretics. So says Gibbon. It is fearfully, diabolically sublime, the determination on the one hand, and the resistance on the other ; for each party in its turn respectively endured what it did not fail to inflict when it could. Each was honest. It was an age of raving, preternatural honesty. The cruelty was regarded as Divine cruelty ; and the blessed St.

Hilary abused the Emperor Constantius as a Rebel and Antichrist, because he refrained from inflicting torture on the Arians.

Being in the second act of the Christian Drama, we have now the Greek Empire restored and converted ; and the schools of the Philosophers transformed into sects. The sects were innumerable, especially amongst the Arians, who represented the free, but not the liberal or indifferent principle. It is the divisional era of the Church, and the reign of the Greek Fathers ; the cycle of Greek Heresies and General Councils. The doctrines of the Church were not only all elaborated in the Greek language, but the very laws or canons of the Church were enacted in Greek Councils. None of the canons of the Primitive or Universal Church were made in Italy ; nor were any of the General Councils called by the Pope. It was not in the order of dramatic succession for the new Religion to pass from the East into the Despotie Peninsula, without a long and a painful ordeal in the divisional and controversial region of Greece ; and the Capital seems to have been removed from Rome to Constantinople, as if on purpose to facilitate this arrangement, as well as to prepare for the rupture which succeeded. The Greeks wrangled with the Gospel, as their fathers did with philosophy ; but they also fought and bled for the principles of the sects, which their fathers did not, but only debated

for those of the schools. And the Romans, more quietly, like their forefathers also, with a language better adapted for dictation than debate—for synthesis than analysis—persisted in the uniform and prudent system of overcoming by dignity, resolution, and patient endurance, the more feeble and illiterate resistance of the Western nations.

Meanwhile the old Empire and all its institutions were rapidly going to decay. Paganism, tolerated at first, was gradually weakened, and at last extinguished, by a persecution which it had not the faith, the zeal, nor the moral courage to withstand. The Empire itself was divided into two, in seventy years after its first Christian Council; and the Western half was early extinguished by the deluge of Barbarians, its cities plundered, and their inhabitants dispersed.

These Barbarians, singular to say, were all professors of the Arian creed; and thus it happened, that no sooner did the Empire become Christian, than it divided itself into two elements, one representing the Divinity and the other the Humanity of Christ. The Humanity overran and laid waste the Empire of the Divinity, for a period of nearly 300 hundred years, sacked and pillaged the city of the Cæsars, and destroyed the municipal system of the Romans and the Greeks, by the instrumentality of its various representatives, the Goths, the Huns and the Vandals, but was at last subdued by the passive resistance and spiritual supremacy of the

Divinity, which it conquered in the persons of the Catholic. And thus the conflict of the two antagonistic principles of the Divine Humanity accomplished the final ruin of the Pagan Empire, and when this important mission was completed, the Divinity swallowed up the Humanity, and the Northern Heretics successively succumbed before the influence of Orthodoxy, about, or soon after, the time of Gregory the Great and the mission of Mahomet. The scourge had then done its chief work, and the defeat as well as the triumph of orthodoxy favoured the supremacy of the Divine Humanity.

This admirable Dramatic provision prepared the way, by a very simple process, for the elevation of the Spiritual Empire by pure Pontifical resources. But it was previously assisted by various Imperial Edicts. And being a new power of the very first importance, coming out of the old, and at last superseding it, we need not be surprised to find that the different steps by which the Papacy successively attained to this elevation, assume the dramatic form of a fivefold series. By Constantine's conversion of the Empire, the Roman Bishop became legitimate, A.D. 323. In 379 an Edict of Gratian and Valentinian made him supreme in appeal over all the Churches of the Western Empire; but the edict was a failure. In 445 Valentinian III made him supreme Lawgiver for the Church of the West to as little purpose. In 533 Justinian, who united both Empires, and finally Christianised the Civil

Law, made him Universal Bishop, or Chief Bishop of the whole Empire. And in 606 Phocas, an awful monster and usurper, confirmed this. These five steps, though merely forms, which at the time conferred but little, if any, additional power, bespeak the spirit of the age respecting the authority of the Roman Bishop; express moreover the imperial will; and reveal the object of Papal ambition.

In 476 the Empire of the West disappeared amid the ravages of Barbarians; but a vigorous and (for a season) successful attempt was made by Justinian to revive the unitary or entire Empire. At the same time he resolved to effect what Pompey, Cæsar and Cicero had all meditated, and Theodosius in part accomplished—a Code of Laws for the government of the world; in other words a summary of Roman Law, which had now become a Babel of confusion. This determination was at last completed, for all ages, in the celebrated Constitutions, the Pandects and the Institutes, which still form the basis of the Civil Law of the Western world, and which may be regarded as the summing up of the legislative work of the old Empire, its baptism and translation from Paganism to Christianity, and the germ from which it would renew its youth, amid the altered circumstances of succeeding times, when, emerging from the darkness of a long reign of barbarism, the genius of civilisation would reappear in the Empire, amid languages and institutions unknown to antiquity.

This era is characteristically one of demolition on the one hand and construction on the other. The General Councils of the Church were laying the foundations of the future ecclesiastical policy, and the successive edicts of the Empire were destroying the idols and the temples of the Pagans. Theodosius made it death by law to worship an idol ; and his soldiers, and the monks, who were now numerous, as well as the populace, who were now ready for the sacrilege, were let loose upon the Temples and the Pagan Priests. The idols were broken and dragged from their pedestals, the sport and the laughing-stocks of the converted rabble ; and as the helpless images patiently endured the ignominy and the violence, the courage of the people increased with non-resistance, and the victory over Paganism was merely the removal of a host of mummies, the clearing out of a great sarcophagus, the pyramid of ages. The impotence of the idols no doubt weakened the faith of their worshippers ; for nothing is more remarkable in the history of the Empire than the ease with which the old religion perished under the physical violence of the new. Ecclesiastical ideas were rapidly succeeding the old sacerdotal notions, translating and adopting their phraseology, and decking themselves in their attire. It was an age of transition, as rapid and remarkable as our own, but far more remarkable as an age of destruction, fanaticism, delirium, and Providential visitation. It was the age in which the monkish

or rather ascetic eccentricities appeared in all their excesses. Men, in their zeal to escape from the world, fled naked into woods, and according to Nicephorus Calistus, lived as beasts till they lost the use of speech, and trembled and shrank at the sight of a fellow creature; others, less rigorous, pined in cells and mortified the body by resolutely denying it all its gratifications—justifying their own intolerance to others by their equally intolerant treatment of themselves—or living promiscuously, bathing promiscuously, without distinction of sex or indulgence of passion, earnestly bent on destroying sense before the death of the body, wearing indifferently each other's clothing; so that one man appeared in a good cloak to-day, a bad to-morrow; calling nothing his own, and nothing his neighbour's. Marriage began to lose its reputation; virginity was extolled as the greatest of virtues; monks and nuns even lived together as spiritual spouses, and prided themselves in their continence and purity. Many fell, and scandals were numerous, and the practice was condemned; but not celibacy, not virginity. The Clergy preached, the Orators declaimed, the Poets warbled, the Divines argued, in favour of abstinence; and domestic life, that in the Old Roman Empire occupied the first, was now reduced to a secondary place in the scale of society.

Meanwhile the dying Paganism was rapidly undergoing its transmigration into new forms.

Fetichism, or the worship of shapeless bodies, which is the infantine condition of Idolatry, was seizing the whole of the Christian world, like a spiritual endemic. The bones and relics of saints, their hairs, their toes or their toe-nails, or the tattered and filthy, decaying and rotten rags which they wore, were all collected with religious care, and deposited in shrines, in chapels and churches, to which pilgrimages were made by the faithful, for prayer and something more; for these venerable fetiches acquired the reputation of working miracles, exceeding, in number as well as in magnitude, the wonders performed by Christ and his Apostles. St. Augustin records no less than seventy miracles in his own diocese, three of which were resurrections from the dead, performed by the bones of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. Over all the Empire such treasures were carried, and exchanged for gold and silver and precious stones; and when human skill was inadequate to the task of discovering the buried relics, a vision of an angel, or of the saint himself or herself, revealed to some poor or exalted enthusiast the spot where they lay. It is infant idolatry. We saw it in the history of Paganism: we shall see its youth or childhood ere long in the dolls and the images of the Regeneration.

Amid all these excesses, the arts and sciences died rapidly. The classics were abandoned. St. Jerome was whipped (*i. e.* in vision) by an angel for

reading them; and he felt that the judgment inflicted was deserved; for Plautus and Terence, Ovid and Martial, Horace and Tibullus, and all the Greek as well as the Latin Poets, were incompatible with supersensual discipline. One artistic taste gave way with another, and the splendid fabric of Genius erected by Greece, and culminated by Rome, came crumbling down, like the edifices of the gods, when the Empire, in an ague, shivering repeatedly from one extremity to another, laid whole cities in ruins, and buried men by thousands, in a moment, amid heaps of desolation.

And this ague, which laid waste the East, and prepared the way for the precedence of the Western portion of the Empire, is one of the most memorable events of the period of which we treat. The Eastern world was long foredoomed by the Prophets: the coming desolation was distinctly foretold. The cities were to lie waste, without an inhabitant of the human form. But they were to become a habitation for dragons, and a court for owls; and grass was to grow, and thorns and briers to multiply, in the palaces of the great. Who could have believed that when Petra, and Baalbec, and Palmyra, Antioch, and Ephesus were young and thriving habitations of gods and men, such a sweeping desolation was close at hand, as almost to obliterate these memorials of art and riches from the surface of society? And that heaven itself might be seen to have ordained it, the catastrophe was accom-

plished without the aid of man. "Without assigning the cause," says Gibbon, "history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or frequent; and will observe, that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian. Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days, and of such extent that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the globe, or at least of the Roman Empire." In one year a fire destroyed the greater portion of Antioch, and next year the remainder of the city was engulfed by an earthquake, and 250,000 persons perished in the ruins. Numerous other cities experienced the same fate: all, more or less, suffered. The sea was agitated with fearful violence. The rocks and valleys of the deep were exposed; and the waves, ferociously attacking the land, carried vessels for miles into the interior of the coasts, perched them on housetops, or entangled them in forests; and again retreating, left fishes innumerable stranded in the fields. With a fell swoop of one of these raging billows, the ocean struck the city of Alexandria; and with palaces and churches, theatres and baths, shops and bazaars, streets and squares, it sacrificed 50,000 human lives to the spirit of the storm. The Empire was doomed; the judgment was come. The elements of nature were the ministering agents of a long-predicted destiny,

Satans, or Antagonists, and the Great Antagonist rode amid the chaos.* The Plagues of Egypt seemed to be realised. Unexampled swarms of locusts, and other insects, ravaged the plains; their dead bodies polluted the air; the pestilence raged with inveterate fury during three months; five, and at length, ten thousand persons died each day at Constantinople. "The disease," says Gibbon, "alternately languished and revived; but it was not till after a calamitous period of fifty-two years that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality." Famine also added to the hitherto unexperienced miseries of the times. "Many cities of the East were left vacant, and in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine afflicted the subjects of Justinian; and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired, in some of the finest countries of the globe." Had the eloquent historian superadded the earthquakes and the comets, he might have removed the disgrace; for the logical mind, which reasons without prejudice from the facts of history, must come to the conclusion that there is a strange coincidence, in the reign of Justinian, of those visitations over which man has no control, and of those which may, with some plausibility of ar-

* See note at the end of the scene, page 240.

gument, be ascribed by an uncharitable critic to the negligence and the ignorance of the times. It was the close of an era remarkable in history, as that of the great political struggle of Monotheism and Polythesim, the spirit of Jewism and the spirit of Gentilism. And though the discordant spirit of the combatants was more active in the minds and the bodies of men, it announced its presence, by scenic representation, in the air and the earth; and the firmament itself displayed, during the struggle, the largest comets and most frightful meteors, whose appearance is described in the records of time. For one with a tail that nearly spanned the heavens, with its head in the East, and its extremities in the West, and attended by a plague that was poisoning the air with ghastly sores, and unburied bodies, and by earthquakes that oppressed the soul with the constant dread of impending destruction, was perhaps a phenomenon that, thus attended, would have appalled the soul of the stoutest, most unpoetical and matter-of-fact philosopher of the nineteenth century.

Such is the result of the great struggle between the old and new Drama, in the first two eras of the latter. But neither can conquer the other; they compromise and rest. The new, however, is so far victorious as to take possession of the field, confer its own name upon it, begin the new and present mode of reckoning time, from *Anno Domini*,

which it did in the reign of Justinian, and thus apparently supersede the old in the beginning of its third Era, when the Middle Ages begin. The third of the old and the third of the new Drama are here united, and the remainder of the united thirds constitutes that most mysterious of all periods, which lasted nearly, perhaps entirely, 1,000 years, and is called by some, respectfully, the Middle, and by others contemptuously, the Dark Ages.

A period, however, elapses between an old and a new Era, which may be regarded as a period of transition, a dawn of the coming age; so that each may be represented as commencing with two dates, sometimes even three. Thus Christianity began at the birth or death of Christ, or the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. It was established by Constantine, but more so by Theodosius, when Paganism was disestablished. And though the Justinian reformation is generally regarded as a great historical terminus, yet a period of transition runs for nearly seventy or eighty years, until Mahomet, the great apostle of the Eastern absolutism, introduced a new idea into the Empire, which was destined effectually to separate the East from the West, and present in its progress one of the leading events which impressed the soul of the Mediæval Era, inspired its chivalry, warmed its devotion, fired its courage and love of adventure, preserved and cultivated its catholicity, consolidated

its unity. For these reasons we prefer the date of the call of Mahomet, in the fortieth year of his age, to any other date for the commencement of the Middle Ages.

The following is the note referred to in page 237 :—

This passage will, most probably, be misunderstood without an explanation. The Satan of modern and the Setan of ancient times are very different ideas. The popular Satan is a mediæval personage: there is no such being in the Old Testament. Selig Newman, a learned Jew, says, "The name Satan is applied to any angel of the Lord sent upon an errand of punishment; as the angel of the Lord who stood in the way for an adversary—literally, 'for a Satan'—against Balaam." When the Lord himself is angry with David, he is called Satan, and tempts him to number the people. (II Sam., 24-1, and I Chron., 21-1, compared.) Dr. S. Clarke says of these passages, "God's moving, Satan's provoking, and David's distrustful heart tempting, all mean the same thing;" and Bishop Horne says of them, "Nothing is more common with the sacred writers than to represent God as doing that which he permits to be done." And are the sacred writers wrong in so doing, and Bishop Horne right in guarding us against the habits of sacred writers? When St. Paul essayed to go into Bithynia, we are told that the Holy Spirit hindered him; but when he essayed again and again to go into Thessalonica, we are told that Satan hindered him. The difference we are left to imagine; but no doubt both hindrances were equally providential. Moses ascribes everything to God that moderns ascribe to Satan; as, for instance, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, and the hearts of the Egyptians and Canaanites. It is the Theology of the whole of the Old Testament, and, to a considerable extent also, of the New. The moderns have separated the two principles of Law and Liberty, or Law and Opposition to Law—the ancients regarded them as one bipolarised; and this ancient idea is the analogue of planetary life, which is night on one side and day on the other, day and night chasing each other round the planet for ever, and each being a Satan—that is, an antagonist or opposition—to the other. For this reason, no doubt, Lucifer, or the Light-bringer, is one of the names of Satan.

The reign of Liberty begins with him. He antagonises Law, and introduces Evil, the beginning of the struggle of the free with the absolute ; and Law also antagonises Liberty, resists, and thwarts, and persecutes it, until the final reconciliation. Each is a Satan to the other, and each is evil in one aspect and good in another ; relatively good and evil, but both absolutely good ; for there is no absolute evil in God's dominions. Law, however, being the representative of order and unity, is also the general representative of God ; but not always, for this would desecrate the principle of Liberty. Therefore, Liberty is represented sometimes as Divine, and Law as a Satan to it. "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage," or the Law of Moses. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty." The Law of Liberty is the final reconciliation of the two antagonistic principles, which struggle as if, without absolutely being, enemies in the times of progression and development. Hence judgments, floods, earthquakes, revolutions, famines, pestilences, &c., are ascribed to God or Satan, according to the position from which they are viewed. But in either case they are alike providential, and though relatively evil, are absolutely and ultimately good. The Satan of Job not only inflicts disease on the human body, but raises a hurricane in the atmosphere. He has the elements of Nature at his command. In other words, the spirit of our planet, and, by analogy, of all planets, is, like a planet, bipolar, light and dark ; a Janus, bifacial, absolute, and free, and therefore seemingly contradictory and antagonistic. But this very antagonism is planetary life, good or evil, according to its relationship with something else.

The Middle or Dark Ages;

OR,

THE REIGN OF ROMAN UNION AND FEUDAL DISPERSION, THE ROCK AND THE SAND OF THE NEW TRILOGUE,* LASTING TILL THE REVIVAL OF THE GREEK MISSIONS IN THE RENAISSANCE, AND THE REVIVAL OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN THE REFORMATION.

SCENE FOURTH.

THE HIGH PRIEST ON THE BRIDGE AND THE NEW PROPHET OF THE WILDERNESS.

TIME—*From A.D. 532 or 608 to the Renaissance or Reformation.*

WE are now arrived at the Third Act of the Christian Drama, and as we are still in the midst of the Third Act of the Great Drama of Civilisation, the two Dramas are now united, and proceed co-ordinately, struggling and sympathising, resisting and embracing, neutralising and combining with each other, alternately. The two great streams are now become one, and the river of Paganism has lost

* As Rome belongs to both worlds, the ancient and the modern, and is the bridge between them, its mission is double. It has, therefore, two histories, two empires, and two classical languages—Latin and Italian. By this duplication it ends one trilogy and begins another: it is the end of the ancient and beginning of modern

its name, though its waters are preserved in the current of the church. An awful work of destruction has been accomplished. Rome has been pillaged and burnt, its inhabitants massacred or dispersed, and the feeble remnant living amid the ruins of palaces and temples, baths and amphitheatres, and monuments innumerable, the wonders of the present age, are daily witnesses of a desert within and without the walls, which still, even to this day, remains to attest the magnitude and resistless force of the desolating power. And that desert how singularly emblematical it now tells, on a map of the Central City, the fate of the whole of the Empire, which it represents! With a plan of Rome before him, let the reader only draw a line across it, from the south-east to the north-west, which is the zodiacal course of the movement of civilisation, and he will find that exactly in that line has the desolation moved, laying waste the whole of the eastern and southern half, and preserving the northern and western,

times. Its absolutism, however, is different from that of Judaism, being more in advance. It is not prological, but paralogical; that is, it goes beyond, or outstrips and exceeds, logic by a certain wild and romantic extravagance. We have already shown, in our third Prologue, that it is of the nature of a third act of a regular pentalogical Drama to form a pivot, and as if it were the fulcrum of the two arms of a balance. We are now beginning to pass that pivot, from one side to the other. The new paralogical mission of Rome in the West, however, is immediately balanced by the new prological mission of Mahomet in the East, equally extravagant, but received by dictation from an Absolute Spirit.

which is now the habitable portion of Rome within the walls. By an edict of the Emperor Caracalla, confirmed by other Emperors in succession, the whole Roman Empire was declared to be the city, and thus the metropolis became as it were a model of the Empire ; and here in the model, by the hand of a mysterious directing agent, we have a representation in miniature of the ruin that visited the stupendous whole. It is in the north-western corner of Rome, that St. Peter's, and the Vatican, and the Castle of St. Angelo, are erected, as if driven by the tide of the desolating current to seek for shelter in the very farthest extremity of the huge waste. The people followed the church, and its protector, and left the south-east a heap of ruins, the type of the Orient wilderness of the ruptured Empire. In this line of movement, the Pontifex Maximus completed his bridge and walked westward over it, and left the East to the hope of the future and the destiny of the church. The last arch was begun by Gregory the Great, in the Augustine Mission to England, by the annexation of which to the Spiritual Empire the Papal church arrived at the end of the Roman world, and planted its banners on the scene of the last act of the Pentalogical Drama,

The Roman Pontiff is by name a Bridgemaker. "Pontifex Maximus" is, by interpretation, "The Supreme Bridgemaker"—the greatest of all bridge-makers, and the name has a similar meaning in Greek—*Gephuropoios*. The *Pons Sublicius* was formerly

made or consecrated at intervals by the Pontiff, who sacrificed upon it : hence his name. And as the High Priest of the City was not the Priest of any particular god, but of all the gods of the Empire, it followed, that, when the Empire became Christian, he became the Priest of the One God only. The name and the office remain as at first. Now, then, when the stream of destiny is parting the Empire, is the time to make the bridge for the passage of civilisation in its journeyings westward. No man can fulfil this office but the Roman Pontiff. This is his vocation ; this is his mission ; and now, when the Pope has been invested with all the authority which he can derive from the imperial power—now that he feels himself alone in the capital, as chief priest and chief magistrate, and surrounded by barbarians, doubtful believers or heretics, who advance even to the very walls of the city, laugh at his pretensions, and deny the supremacy of any of the Patriarchs, he begins with noble and seemingly desperate resolution, trusting in his cause and in the favour of Heaven, the apparently hopeless undertaking.

Nothing could be better adapted for the Roman Bridgemaker, than the state of society in the Middle Ages. From the fifth to the eighth century, the Barbarians were engaged in ravaging the cities, and completing the destruction which the elements had begun. The old Roman municipal towns went rapidly into decay, one after another. The citizens were driven abroad into the fields, and forced to

adopt an entirely new mode of existence, the rustic life unknown to the ancients, and the germ of that new phasis of civilisation which distinguishes the modern from the ancient world. Barbarian kings, elected by military suffrage, in vain attempted to form nations or kingdoms. They reigned for a season and then disappeared, without leaving successors invested with their right. Powerful to-day and feeble to-morrow, they wanted stability to enforce any other but the homage of fear. Ever engaged in ruinous warfare with one another, or with their nobles, who were almost equal to themselves in power—proud and irritable, and prone to give as well as to receive offence—despising commerce, and not understanding any better mode of making it contribute to their financial necessities, than simply extorting at the point of the sword the sums which they required—there was neither system nor unity, nor a regular line of succession, in their government ; and thus it is impossible, for several hundred years, to draw a definite map of the western world, or say where a royal authority prevailed, or a nation existed. Before the tenth century, the castle of the baron superseded the city, and the population was divided into rural communities, which took refuge in the neighbourhood of these powerful forts ; whilst the cities, deprived of their military population, were obliged to comply with their capricious demands. Society was thus reduced to its primitive patriarchal elements, and the feudal system was gra-

dually organised. But whilst the barons took possession of the country, the bishops took possession of the towns and founded cathedrals ; and ere long, also, monasteries and abbacies with baronial rights arose, and slowly but surely rivalled the castles. With all these the Papacy grew ; and as the bishops, the abbots, the priests, and the monks were all more faithful in their allegiance to the Pope, than the barons to the Sovereign, the consequence was, that the spiritual power increased apace, whilst the temporal power was destroying itself. In this manner the Pope of Rome became by degrees the only legitimate representative of the Imperial unity ; for the only idea of it visibly realised, was that of the Roman Hierarchy. The Church grew, and founded cathedrals and parish churches over all the West—an unparalleled institution—whose works exceed in magnificence and permanence those of all the Empires, ancient and modern. Thus the bridge was completed, over which the march of civilisation proceeded. The Pontifex Maximus was the real maker of it, but he lost the two south-eastern arches, and the bridge remains to this day a *Ponte Rotto*.*

* "Broken bridge." It remains to this day in Rome, a ruin, with part of three western arches above water ; the eastern submerged. How many more there were we cannot discover, nor did we think of attempting to ascertain the number when we stood on the banks of the "Yellow" Tiber, and contemplated the interesting ruin. But we brought a large map of the Eternal City home with us, which gives three piers of the old bridge above water, and room for two more.

These last arches were taken from him by a very extraordinary person, who came upon the stage about the same time when the Pontiff was left to his own resources. At the beginning of the seventh century, a spiritual Revelation was made to Mahomet, which commanded him to teach the absolute unity of the Godhead, and destroy the idols. He obeyed and, like every other great Commissioner from Heaven, was marvellously supported in all his difficulties by the hand of Providence. Full of zeal and faith himself, with a creed like that of an ancient patriarch, the very transcript of Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, David or Josiah, he did more than all the Kings of Judah together ever did in rooting idolatry out of the land. No rival, no fellow to God would this prophet permit ; and he thrust his creed into the mouths of the people with the point of his sword. They swallowed it and believed, and their children are now as genuine believers as if their fathers had been converted by the logic of the schools. More so ; for, if they had at first believed with reason, they would have doubted with it also. But now their faith is absolute, like the government of the East, and every unitary Mission.

This forcible establishment of the Theological Unity in the East, the counterpart of Alexander's

It was the first stone bridge of Rome—the old Sublician was wooden. The intelligent reader will at once perceive that we use this *Ponte Rotto* merely as a figure.

Liberalism, is a remarkable fact, to the meaning of which the Christian world has been singularly blinded. The only explanation of the Great Mahometan Meteor, and the conversion of a permanent census of a hundred and fifty millions of men to the faith of the One God, is that it was a rank imposture perpetrated by Mahomet for sinister purposes! What a singular God their own must be, to permit such a pitiful trick on his providence to succeed, and even lend his hand to support it, in defiance of his will! It is much more probable that they are unwise, and do not comprehend the important and indispensable part which Mahomet and his law perform in the Drama of Civilisation. It is the growing protest against the growing idolatry of Christendom. It is the natural counterpart to any description of divisional worship which allies itself with the God of Revelation. The Empire is divided between the absolute and the dissolute in Theology, which are the perfect counterparts of Law and Liberty, the respective Missions of East and West; and the East is as true in its fixture of the one, as the West in the development of the other. It is not essential to a prological Revelation, by voice or vision, that it be absolutely or finally true in its obvious meaning. On the contrary it never can be so. It is true by translation only. All such Revelation is relative or expedient for time, not absolute in its primitive or obvious meaning for eternity. And the same spirit that could

give a word to Moses to be translated by St. Paul into a meaning that annuls it, can give a word to Mahomet, that may be evaporated like water in sunshine, without refuting the truth of the original. It is not in character with the highest order of teaching to strain at the facts of historical record, like a pedagogical critic. It is the principles only of the facts that it consecrates ; and fables or parables are often for these more serviceable than history. The greatest of Teachers preferred them to history, for they are more dramatic, simpler in form and quicker in coming to their end, and better adapted for popular comprehension. He was not a critic of style and grammar, a weigher of historical evidences, or a judge of historical authorities. He took the book, and the facts as he found them, and extracted the kernel without criticising the character of the shell. Fable to a great teacher is truer than fractional history. And there is not a word which Mahomet has uttered which may not be translated as easily into truth, as the bulls and the goats, the heifers and the lambs of the ritual of Moses, and the atonement they made by shedding their blood for the sins of men. Charity is better than criticism, though criticism is not valueless. Charity covers what critical severity uncovers, the temper and the prejudices of the critic himself.

Nevertheless, though we justify Mahometanism, and regard it in the light of a Divine expedient, an indispensable part of the Drama of Civilisation, we

are far from admitting its literal truth ; for of all the aspects of Revelation, the literal meaning is the one beyond which we always look for another. The letter killeth truth—the spirit giveth life to it. But being a Revelation, and a great Providential substitute for a growing evil, there must be something peculiar to Mahometanism which is true and indestructible, whilst the immediate political policy of the Arabian Revelation is at once apparent in the fact, that by means of this, the desolation of the East was completed and maintained ; and by its gradual occupation of the scenes of the first two Missions, the Hebrew and the Greek, a free development was thus given to the liberty of the West. The Religion of Mahomet is essentially destructive and unprogressive ; for, though it maintained for several generations a barbaric splendour in the East, it was chiefly with the extant materials of the old Empire ; and even its science or philosophy was little else than translations from the Greek and Latin classics. Its own is puerile and inefficient, and it has sunk at last into its proper characteristic passivity and indifference, the natural result of an absolute law like that of Moses, which cannot be repealed, and a fatalism that cannot be resisted. “The first thing that God created” said the Prophet, “was a pen, and when it was created, God said, ‘Write,’ and the pen said, ‘What shall I write ?’ And God answered, ‘Write all that shall ever be created or done in creation.’ And the pen wrote it.” So

what a man does he must do. And he who is damned was born to be damned, as a horse was born to be a horse. It is the theology of the Stoics. Seneca, in the 5th chapter of his *Providentia*, says, "*Ille ipse omnium conditor et rector scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur. Semper paret, semel jussit*"—"Jupiter wrote the decrees of destiny and he obeys them." It is also the Theology of the Church of Scotland, which teaches that God, "according to the counsel of his will, for his own glory, hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass;" and yet it is always finding fault with what comes to pass, as if it did not believe its own creed. The Turks believe it better. It is the most absolute of all creeds. Civilisation balanced it with liberty in the West; and the Empire was divided between liberty and necessity. But that liberty did not proceed from Popery, though Popery teaches the freedom of the will; for this very doctrine of the liberty of the will Popery has made instrumental to tyranny. The liberty of the West arises from the fourfold division of interests of which we shall speak hereafter—the church, the crown, the aristocracy, and the boroughs. These are the four rivers of Eden that water the garden of Western civilisation; whilst in the East the absolute one, like the solitary thumb, embraces all ideas of government, and all institutions, in the supreme and unassociated Law of the Prophet. Had Popery alone domineered in the West, as Mahometanism

in the East, the development of Liberty would have been an impossibility. But by acting as a check upon the other three agents, and they in their turn re-acting upon it, the most absolute of all the Churches of Christendom was placed in a position so favourable for progress that even its own unbending stiffness was negatively instrumental in promoting it for a season; and it did not fail to render positive and valuable assistance in the steady and the resolute front which it presented to the wanton and the dangerous aggressions of the crowns on the one hand and the coronets on the other. Thus the whole Roman Empire was gradually and finally organised upon the model of a human hand; the absolute Law of Mahomet, in the East, representing the thumb, and the four principles of Western civilisation representing the fingers. This model still exists. It was completed by the taking of Constantinople by the Turks about the time when the four divisional elements had received their full development in the West.* The Dramatic propriety of this arrangement will more abundantly appear in our delineation of the next scene.

* Constantinople has ever been a falling City. It rose at first without any merits of its own, and it has always been falling for want of them. Its greatness is yet to come, when the Greek nationality is restored. It is the Christian Athens. Its declension is the result of its geographical relationship with the Second Act of the Divine Drama.

SCENE FIFTH.

THE IDOLMAKERS AND THE IDOLBREAKERS ; OR THE NEW GENTILES
AND THE NEW JEWS.

The principle of absolute unity in the object of worship would have died in the East, and in the world, except amongst the Jews, if Mahomet had not appeared to prevent it. A few years before the mission of the Prophet of the Wilderness, Gregory the Great, the Bishop of Rome, for the first time in the records of the Church, permitted the introduction of images into churches, "for the use of idiots and unlearned persons," to whom they were "as Scripture to the learned." This authority was so unquestionable, that, by his encouragement, images were set up throughout all the West, for both learned and unlearned. But when the Greeks had knowledge of this, they began to dispute the matter with the Latins, and condemned the practice. The entire empire was thus divided into two on the subject of the trinity and multity of the objects of veneration ; and as fast as the Popes and Bishops of the West erected sacred statues, the Emperors of the East commanded them to be pulled down. This great struggle was just begun when Mahomet was commissioned from beyond Mount Sinai, in the Greater Desert, to establish the Undivided Unity—the Rock of Ages. The Greeks prepared the way before him, but could not fulfil his office. A large portion of

the Oriental Church was favourably disposed to statues, and especially to pictures ; and all more or less to divisional reverence. But the policy of the Emperors, and that of the Greeks in general, was decidedly opposed to the headlong idolatry of the Latins ; and of the three exceptions, Theodosius III, who was favourable to the practice, reigned only one year ; Irene, who also encouraged it, was declared incompetent to reign ; and Theodorus, who listened to the arguments of the Latins, shared her fate, and was dethroned. It was on this great primary question of religion and civilisation, that the East and the West quarrelled ; and so great was the animosity, that the West refused to assist the East in repelling the rapid and the fearful advance of the Arabian Unitarians. To this quarrel the second Church Homily, "on the perils of Idolatry," ascribes the final separation of the Greeks and the Latins, and the erection of the new rival empire in France ; "the utter overthrow of the Christian religion and noble empire in Greece ; the increase of Mahomet's false religion ; and the cruel dominion of Saracens and Turks." But it singularly happened that it was not the most idolatrous portion of the empire that suffered by the Saracens and Turks, but that portion which resisted the images. Had the West been the idolbreaker, and the East the idolmaker, the progress of the Arabian visitation might have been deemed a judgment of God against idolatry. But it was just the reverse.

It was an essential part of the Dramatic plan, that the Eastern half should be devoted to the absolute unity ; and the Greeks, in resisting the introduction of the Latin images, were only alleviating their own future sufferings, and preparing the way for their future restoration ; for, had the Churches of the East been filled with idols, they might all have been buried in irrecoverable ruin. But being comparatively free from the profanation, they were prepared for the conquerors, who suffered them to exist under certain restrictions.

The introduction of images was a bold step, a thorough Gentilisation of the Church of the West. The process of assimilation to Paganism henceforth went on apace. It may, however, be traced from the time of Constantine, or even from an earlier period, when Gregory Thaumaturgus instituted games in honour of the Martyrs, in imitation of the Pagans. The following review of the progress of Paganism in the West will show the importance of the Mahometan mission in the East. After the empire became Christian, the system of appropriating Pagan customs grew rapidly popular ; and when all fear of relapse into Paganism was removed by the destruction of the temples and the prohibition of their rites, it seemed as if a passion had seized the Western Church to Gentilise itself. According to Father Newman, in his "Theory of Development," "Constantine, in order to recommend the new religion to the Heathen, transferred

into it the outward vestments to which they had been accustomed in their own. The use of temples, and these dedicated to particular saints, and ornamented on occasions with branches of trees ; incense, lamps, and candles ; votive offerings on recovery from illness ; holy water ; asylums ; holy days and seasons ; use of calendars, processions, blessings on the fields, sacerdotal vestments, the tonsure, the ring in marriage ; turning to the East ; images at a later date ; perhaps the ecclesiastical chant and the " Kyrie Eleison," are all of Pagan origin and sanctified by their adoption into the Church." The old penates or household gods were in due time displaced by images of the saints ; the old Lararium, a recess for the gods, in every Pagan house, became an oratorio ; images were worshipped, as the ancients worshipped them ; Cybele, the mother of the gods, had her substitute in Mary the Mother of God and of all living. Images wept, as Apollo's at Cumæ, and Juno's at Lanuvium. They also perspired and winked like the images of the gods : they were dressed and decorated with jewels, as in Heathen temples. Even the fêtes of asses were ordained as if in imitation of the feasts of Vesta, in which asses walked in procession crowned with flowers and leaves. Prophets and sibyls, and Baalam the ass-rider, were all represented theatrically, or a Virgin and Child were seated on the donkey, and the motley crowd having filled the church, and High Mass been performed, the priest brayed and

the people brayed instead of chanting the Amen. Sometimes the people had the churches to themselves, as in the orgies of the ancient Bacchus, and dressing themselves up as satyrs and wild beasts, they celebrated a burlesque mass of their own ; ate fat bacon, and played at dice on the altar ; burnt foetid substances instead of incense, and even indecently exposed their persons. A pope or abbot of fools was chosen, and *Te Deum* was chanted in honour of his election, a Christian translation of the Pagan Feast of Fools, *feriæ stultorum*. The Carnivals were instituted in imitation of the Saturnalia and Lupercalia. The ancient custom of giving dolls of Heathen gods and goddesses to children at the winter holidays, was converted into a Christmas practice, now common in Italy, substituting for the Pagan deities the Christian saints. Even the Silicernia, or suppers to the dead, condemned by St. Ambrose in his day, are still practised in Italy ; and Easter eggs continue, as in Roman times, a Pagan custom in that country. All these things came slowly, but surely, in regular order ; and amongst them in due season the old Satyric Drama which preceded in Greece the formation of the regular Drama ; and the regeneration of the Theatre in Christendom was precisely analogous to that of its generation in Greece. For those satyric fooleries of a rude and superstitious people were transformed into religious mysteries, in which the whole plan of redemption was performed, and God the Father, and God the Son,

the Devil and his imps, with hell-fire and its horrors, were all introduced, as well for the amusement as the instruction of the people, who crowded to the spectacle as the best entertainment which the times afforded. The artistic mode of teaching religion was revived for want of books, and other means of instruction, and the consequences were inevitable, simple and natural, but at the same time pardonable and justifiable in a rude and uncivilised people. Paganism, in another guise, was thus revived in the West; but it was subdued in the East by the sword of Islam amongst the Mahometans; not amongst the Greeks. And this latter fact demonstrates an important truth, that, had it not been for Mahomet, the East at this moment, in all probability, would have been wholly given up to idolatrous practices. His mission prevented this, and established an absolute theological idea which would otherwise have found no political home on the face of the globe.

But why should the West be now given up to idolatry, and the East reclaimed from it? For the same reason that Greece was formerly given up to it, and not Judea. The field of liberty is now enlarged, and the whole empire is divided into a larger Judea and a larger Greece. Polytheism is the nursery of the infant arts, which can never thrive under an absolute theology like that of Moses and Mahomet. The arts were destined to revive and grow up a second time, as they grew up

in Greece at first ; and the West having received a new and enlarged Greek or Liberal mission, the East receives an enlarged Jewish or a retrograde and isolated mission of desolation, which does not ramify out of, nor into, nor incorporate itself legitimately with, the fivefold Drama of civilisation, but breaks the traditions of ages even more than the Jews, and refuses communion with the Western world either in a religious, political, social, or commercial capacity—the very type of absolutism—Moses translated. This prepares the Wilderness of the East to be restored at the great crisis.

But though not entitled to be enumerated amongst the members of the Western Drama, because of its isolation, Islamism is not therefore to be regarded as purely negative or subversive in the Divine Arrangement. It belongs to a larger Drama than the Western. It is the intermediate link between the two Hemispheres, the Oriental and Occidental ; occupying the middle region of the Desert—the cradle of absolute law and the birthplace of devotional feeling, and establishing on that primitive territorial basis the fundamental principle of all religion, natural and revealed, the faith of the Undivided and the Absolute One. There can be no doubt of the fundamental truth of such a mission ; and whatever may become of its accessories, which are as chaff to the wheat, this primordial principle will stand for ever. It is the fulcrum of the great Hemispherical Balance of the

old world, and it osculates with both Hemispheres better than any other mission, and thus becomes a link by which the scale is graduated, and preparation made for quickly and efficiently accomplishing that reunion of all the families of men which is the great consummation of the mundane Drama. Thus, for instance, there are two great territorial Churches on each side of it—Romanism and Protestantism in the West—Greece being territorially suspended by it—and Brahminism and Buddhism in the East; and if there be any one principle on which these four great Religions can ever be made to agree, it is the fundamental principle of the Mahometan Faith—"There is One God." He who boggles at the remainder, "Mahomet is his Prophet," does not understand it, and merely rejects the Law of Divine Order and denies the wisdom of a Great Providential Arrangement. He is a babe in wisdom, and "must tarry at Jericho until his beard grows," and he is able to digest the food of an adult understanding. The Mahometan unity took possession of the scenes of the first two acts of the Western Drama, when they had completed their territorial mission; and it conquered the East as far as the boundaries of China, and established the empire of the Great Moguls in Hindostan. There it ceased; but it has inoculated the Eastern world, and a large portion of Africa, with its spirit; and there is no people so difficult to convert from their own fundamental faith as the Children of the Greater Desert.

They stand like the rock against every wind of doctrine, and resist the plough like the hard-baked earth. Our Western missionaries have no triumphs amongst them ; and yet, like the Jews, the Moslems are not a missionary people. When they do convert, they convert by authority or dictation, not by logic. But their doctrine, divested of its accessories—its chaff and straw—is a vortex that draws all other doctrines into it by mere absorption. The Jew admits it, the Christian cannot deny it, the Deist acknowledges it, the Unitarian preaches it, the Philosopher subscribes to it, the Brahmin admires it, the Buddhist believes it ; everybody owns it, but a few isolated exceptions who have nothing to substitute for it ; and yet it is a Desolation, as the absolute principle always is, until it be reconciled and incorporated with the free which rids it of its asperities, and clothes it with verdure. Hence, on each side of it, as in the scales of a balance, in China and Japan, which it has not touched, and in the North-western world, which has escaped from it, there are liberty and progress ; but in the Empire of the Prophet of the Desert there is positive stagnation, or a natural retrogression for want of industry to prevent it. It is the mill of conservatism without its machinery.

Meanwhile Roman society was reduced to its elements in the West, and had to be reorganised on a wider field. All the old libraries were burnt or scattered ; the old arts lost, the old cities in ruins,

the old customs abolished. Mythology itself was restored. The world had gone back even as far as fable and legend, where it was in the days of Homer and Hesiod, or even Orpheus and Musæus. Idolatry is natural to such times. It is the very life and soul of them ; for without it men must remain, as Mahometans remain, an unprogressive, a stagnant, and a barbarous people. Gregory the Great was right when he said that images and pictures are the books of idiots and unlearned persons ; they were the books of the Middle Ages ; books which taught the pilgrims to churches and shrines ideas which they could not read and might not otherwise have heard, and which they doubtless transformed into stories, which became the legends and traditions of posterity, the popular philosophy of a bookless world, and the source of immense activity, of playful, ingenious, moral, and religious fancy. Nonsense was inevitable ; as in every literature a great development of wild and worthless fable grew out of the parent root ; but this mental activity is better than mental sterility and dulness. It is better to be thinking and devising, and carving and painting something than nothing ; and the necessary evil will cure itself at last, so soon as it has fulfilled the object of its mission. It is a way out of ignorance and barbarism, and its final elevation is its final destruction ; for the more grotesque an image of wood or stone is, the deeper is the veneration in which it is held. The works of

Canova, Thorwaldsen, or even of Michael Angelo, are not worshipped. It is chiefly the dolls and the daubs that are venerated. The lower the degree of art, the higher the degree of devotion ; so that even a fetich, or a relic of wood, or a rag, is held in greater worship than the Madonna of a Raphael. Fear not. The laws of God and Nature are perfect ; and idolatry, when it is ripe, will come down like a plum.

Moreover the idolatry of Christian Rome is different from that of the ancient world ; for, though the pious Catholic worships his images as truly and unreservedly as the Pagan his, the two classes of images are very unlike. The Saints are pure from sensual imperfections ; they are clothed and modest ; and all, without exception, are patrons of temperance, chastity and self-denial. They are a step in advance of the heathen gods—a step too which is nearer to Divine Humanity, and farther from a monstrous divinity. We observed, when treating of Pagan idolatry, that the nearer it approached the Divine human ideal, the nearer it approached its end ; for it begins with the monstrous, and ends with the human. And now the images are no longer monstrous in form, but all human, and they no longer take the name of gods, but of men and women—canonised persons of the same nature and origin as ourselves—and the better they are carved the less they are worshipped. This is nearer the end, and the next step will be, that canonisation itself will

cease, and genuflection will cease, and images will then become nothing more than beautiful memorials of the Great and the Good. The decline of canonisation is rapidly advancing. We find, in Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints," the greatest number in the fourth and seventh centuries. In modern times they are comparatively few. Protestantism has no modern saints, and Romanism is perceptibly influenced by the spirit of the times. But beyond canonisation there is another step, which is infinitely more beautiful and more divine. It is "the manifestation of the Sons of God," who are better than Saints; for they are not pediculous—not like Roman Saints, infested with parasitical animals*—but clean and pure in body and spirit, for the impurity of the one is merely the symbol of the other. They are also divine, for men and women, as the children of the Highest, are to be "made partakers of the Divine Nature," when they understand the mode of governing the world. This is the Divine Humanity in its collective sense, and it is certainly reasonable that the children should inherit the nature of their father, and cannot be human only when he is Divine. Roman saintship is a step in progress to an end

* When Saint Thomas a Becket's body was uncovered after his martyrdom, it was found to be infested with those filthy little creatures which are the offspring, as well as the types, of uncleanness. He had cultivated them purposely for self-mortification. The monks, when they perceived them, were astonished at this evidence of his holiness, and, raising their hands in admiration, exclaimed, "Verily he was one of us!"

that for ever supersedes it, as only a shadow that prefigures a substance.

This mingling of Paganism and Christianity, therefore, in the Middle Ages was expedient. It was inevitable and providential. No man has a right to blame a movement so strong that he himself, had he been in it, would have gone with the stream. It was, moreover, a natural and legitimate birth from two legitimate parents. The mission of the Gentile world was as real as that of Palestine. The law of the Jews forbade idolatry to them, but it was never forbidden to the Gentiles. It was only forbidden when they became Jews or Scriptural Christians. But this new Institution of the Middle Ages, this Popery, was neither Jewish, Christian, nor Pagan : it was a mixture of all the three—a Trilogue, a threefold and a twisted cord—an organisation logically developed, partly from Scripture, partly from philosophy, partly from Paganism, fanatical or paralogical inspiration (an enigmatical grade of the Divine), and the circumstances of the times. It was itself a “living Revelation,” “a new Scripture,” which, “by the aid of the Holy Ghost and the attribute of infallibility,” had the power of adding to and translating the old into a different meaning ; and though claiming descent from the primitive Christian faith, it was not that faith, but a compound of which that faith was an ingredient, a plant that grew up from that faith as from a root, but was nourished withal by Gentile soil and by

Gentile air, and grafted also by Gentile ideas that grew upon its branches.

Christianity, as taught by its Founder, never was, or could be, embodied in any collective church. It was merely a seed that grew up. The Apostles developed and changed it greatly, and their successors still more ; and when they planted it on Gentile ground, it necessarily assimilated Gentile soil and breathed a Gentile atmosphere. But when it became heir to the Gentile Empire, it could not fail, like a young plebeian inheriting a patrician fortune, to inherit also new passions and new ideas of style and grandeur. Mahomet conquered the East ; he did not inherit it ; he smashed it, and forbade its resurrection. But Christianity inherited the West and became part and parcel of it, and therefore there is more than Christianity in the West. There are Greek philosophy, mythology and art ; there is Roman law ; there are Pagan customs traditionally transmitted ; and whether we think ourselves genuine or not, we are not genuine or primitive Christians, but just exactly as far from original Christianity as Mahometans are from Judaism. The new Law and the new Moses of the East are perfect and legitimate counterparts to the new Papal, Cardinal, Episcopal, Baronial, Political, Parliamentary, Dissenting Gospels of Christendom. It was as necessary to the full development of the original idea of the Divine Drama, that there should be another development of the Law in the East as of

the Gospel in the West. The East is the absolute, and represents the divine in antithesis to the human, whose hemisphere of action is always Westward, in advance of the absolute law which it dissolves; so that any man, who could have discovered and analysed the plan of divine Providence, might have known for a certainty that whenever the Western world was about to betake itself to the divisional polytheistic form of worship, be it real or apparent, an absolute revelation would take place in the East to protest against it and to check its progress. This beautiful dramatic and analogical propriety of arrangement justifies Mahomet as a Divine Commissioner, whose work, like that of Moses, was expedient for time, though not absolute for eternity.

The principle of Mahomedan Faith is absolute Necessity or Fatalism, and that of Gentile Christianity is Liberty, and the two together represent the two co-ordinate principles of Divine and Human wills, by whose reciprocal agency and re-agency the whole Drama is performed. Their political separation for a season is a lesson to man, as all analytical separations are in the reign of antagonism or Satanism; but the cordial union of both will take place, and the soul of Mahometanism will for ever be incorporated with the body of civilisation, but its body will be lost like the body of Moses.

Not even the absolutism of Mahometanism, how-

ever, was perfect, for such is incompatible with human existence ; nor was its occupation of the scenery of the first acts of the Drama complete. The Crusaders disputed its possession of the Holy Land with a marvellous amount of Divine fanaticism for two hundred years, and the Christian world at last established its rights of pilgrimage to and inheritance of the Holy Places. The Jew, by toleration, resides along with them, and there these three mysterious rivals—the old Hebrew, who forms the link between the old sacrificial world and the new, the Mahometan, who is the link between the hemispherical East and West, and the Christians, who represent the divisional spirit of the Gentile world, osculating with the unitary spirit by means of their trinity in unity and their subdivisions of the mystical body—all are there, incapable of reconciliation or fusion, but waiting for the end at the scene of the beginning, and all, or many of them, expecting the consummation of the Drama to take place where it began. Even they have the idea of Dramatic unity ; and there can be little doubt that they are not entirely in error, for though the Fifth Act is not identical with the First, it has so close an affinity with it, that it must reproduce it in a state of solution.

SCENE SIXTH.

THE CONSTRUCTORS OF NORTH-WESTERN SOCIETY : THE MONASTIC
ORDERS OR CLERGY, THE BARONS, KINGS, AND COMMONS.

The seventy or eighty years between the time of Justinian's Reformation of the Roman Law, and the rise of Mahomet, may be regarded as a time of transition between the old and the middle world ; during which the disappearance of the remnants of antiquity was fast approaching to its consummation. The Barbarians were then over-running the whole Empire of the West ; the depopulation of cities and the dispersion of the people in the provinces were going on rapidly ; schools on the old model of Greece and Rome, losing their support, were going to ruin almost simultaneously ; commerce was dying ; the ornamental and fine arts were being forgotten. War, and the primitive handicrafts of working in wood and iron, were bringing back the days of romance and fable ; and the new spiritual power was accumulating strength amid the feebleness of the old civilisation. Such was the force and universality of the flood which came over the past, that even the clergy themselves, the most learned men of the day, assisted the Barbarians in completing the ruin of political and intellectual Rome. Gregory the Great, in this period of transition, affected so much contempt for

ancient learning and wisdom, that he even despised the ordinary art of grammar in his writings, and sharply rebuked St. Dizier, Bishop of Vienne, for teaching it in his cathedral school. The old civil schools had taught it, and it was the object of the clergy of that period to substitute everywhere ecclesiastical schools in their stead ; and so long as the civil schools existed, the slightest resemblance of them was viewed with suspicion.

Society never had been in a more hopeless condition. It can be compared to nothing but death and dissolution ; and no man could ever have imagined the simple and most efficient means by which it was restored. When the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit never fails to raise up a standard against it. There is no retrogression ; there is only translation. But the East was then the source of all new ideas, and there we must look for the succour that was approaching.

Monastic, or rather conventional, life had been growing in the East since the days of St. Basil, who is called the Great, because he is the father of the Monachism of the East. But the spirit of Basilian Monachism is contemplative, and merely consists of retirement from the world. It had travelled westward, but could have been of little service for the restoration of society, where industry and labour indefatigable were demanded. This want was abundantly supplied at the proper season. In 528, A.D., when Justinian was beginning

his reform of the law, St. Benedict was founding the Monastery of Monte Cassino, in Italy, the first and still the chief of all the Benedictine conventual establishments. His discipline was mild, but it forbade idleness. It was a sacred Socialism, or perfect community of goods, in which all individual interest was to be sacrificed, and made subservient to the general welfare of the community and the church. The popularity of the idea was marvellous. It spread like wildfire over all the western world—that portion which was to represent the new trilogy of the Drama. That such an institution was wanted at the time is evident from the fact of its rapid growth. The immense benefit which it conferred on the world for nearly a thousand years—in reclaiming waste lands, making roads and bridges, founding new towns, and enlarging old ones, instituting colleges and schools, erecting cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches, encouraging trade and commerce, establishing inns and hospices for travellers, and *messengeries* for carrying goods and letters, preserving and restoring literature—is such as ought never to be forgotten by posterity in judging of the mission—we may call it Divine, for all such public missions are Divine—of the monastic orders.* These Benedictine Monks were, in the course of ages, subdivided into

* By Divine, in this place, we mean high in the graduated scale of Divinity, but not the summit.

branches innumerable, which took different names ; such as the order of Citeaux, founded by St. Robert—the Camaldules by St. Romuald,—the order of Cluny by St. Odon, &c.; but they all followed the general rules of St. Benedict ; and so universal was the adoption of his discipline for several hundred years, that Charlemagne, at the end of the eighth century, inquired if there were any other than Benedictine Monks in his dominions. Everywhere their societies flourished, and the barren heath was soon transformed into a garden around them. The Monks of the Congregation of Fulda possessed as many as eighteen thousand farms, and those of St. Benedict Polironne employed three thousand pairs of oxen in the cultivation of the land. They were all forbidden the use of meat, and obliged to sleep in their day clothes, but were permitted to take a small portion of wine daily ; and this economical arrangement not only contributed to the multiplication of cattle, but to the cultivation of the vine ; and thus we see, in the hands of these devoted men, the restoration of society in one or more of its phases begun and assured of success. The order of the monks of Citeaux increased so rapidly, that in fifty years after its institution it numbered five hundred abbeys, and in the year 1200 they had increased in little more than a century from the foundation to 1800. They extended over all the North-western world, and many of the military monks, such

as the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara and Montreza in Spain, and those of Christ and of The Bird in Portugal, adopted the rules of Citeaux. Clairvaux, over which St. Bernard, the oracle of his age, presided, was one of its earliest branches, and to this order, still Benedictine, the King of Portugal, Alfonso the First, submitted himself and his kingdom as to a feudal suzerain, engaging to pay it a yearly tribute of fifty golden maraboutins. This one fact alone demonstrates the immense moral power of these wonderful institutions in the Middle Ages ; for it was not by the sword of steel that they made their conquests, but by the sword of the spirit, the sword of moral discipline and well deserved reputation, which commanded and secured the confidence of the people. Then they could sing the final song of the church—

Praise to the Conqueror, praise to the Lord !

His word was our arrow, his breath was our sword !

But when they were no longer wanted, or less wanted, their discipline was relaxed, and they lost the confidence which once they deserved. The Popes themselves, by infallible inspiration, accomplished this. Pope Sextus the Fourth, the Pope who first licensed female prostitution, amongst other favours granted the superiors permission to eat meat ; and when once the general begins to grow fat, the soldiers become lazy. But even in the time of Charlemagne, in the eighth century, we find the monastery of St. Denys representing to the King,

in apology for the sporting habits of its inmates, that the flesh of hunted animals was good for sick monks, and that their skins would serve to bind the books of the library. It was thus that Satan—that is, Nature in opposition—crept in upon the rules and suggested slowly, but surely, specious reasons for relaxing them. “Reasons equally cogent, we may presume,” says Hallam, “could not be wanting in every other case. As the Bishops and Abbots were perfectly feudal lords, and did not scruple to lead their vassals into the field, it was not to be expected that they should debar themselves of an innocent pastime.” And the secular clergy did not fail to lead the way in the progress of corruption. “Alexander III, by a letter addressed to the clergy of Berkshire, dispenses with their keeping the archdeacon in dogs and hawks. An Archbishop of York in 1321 seems to have carried a train of two hundred persons, who were maintained at the expense of the abbey on the road, and to have hunted with a pack of hounds from parish to parish.” Such corruption crept in by the aristocratical clergy, and the monks were naturally infected with the sensuous spirit of their superiors. But amid all these corruptions, there were frequent reformations and restorations of order by great and good men, apparently inspired on purpose; and the same historical authority whom we have just quoted, on reviewing the general character of monachism, thus concludes:—“In the original principles of monastic orders, and the rules by which they ought at least

to have been governed, there was a character of meekness, self-denial and charity that could not wholly be effaced. These virtues, rather than justice and veracity, were inculcated by the religious ethics of the Middle Ages; and in the relief of indigence, it may upon the whole be asserted, that the monks did not fall short of their profession."

Nor were the women less zealous than the men. Scholastica, the sister of St. Benedict, became the foundress of an order of nuns on the rule of her brother, within a few miles of Monte Cassino; and the circumstances of the times in which all individual life and property were in peril, and families esteemed a burden to all, were favourable to the encouragement of that celibacy which the restoration or the formation of society, on a religious basis, demanded. Regeneration took the precedence of generation, in strict analogy with the facts of the age; and though marriage was admitted to be honourable in all, yet celibacy was regarded as more than honourable: it was sacred, though not universally binding on the clergy till the eleventh or twelfth century. These nuns were not idle or useless members of society, but diligently cultivated that species of industry which is suitable to the sex; and span and wove and wrought tapestry, and worked in the dairies, and made clothes for the poor and attended women in childbed and sickness, and provided for them the comforts which their sufferings required. And thus

their persons and their institution, amidst innumerable corruptions, reforms and declines, became sacred in the eyes of the people, and so remained for a thousand years.

The whole monastic system, viewed as a collective unity, is one of the most marvellous institutions with which history makes us acquainted. Far from presenting temptation to pleasure or profit, it was nothing but a personal sacrifice at the beginning. Temperance, chastity, poverty, and obedience to the strict rules of discipline, were indispensable to the noviciate; and though there was ever a tendency to relax the severity of the system, which varied in different monasteries according to the personal character of the superior, when wealth increased, there was at all times, at least for centuries, so strict an ordeal, that nothing but poverty on the one hand, or devotion on the other, or weariness of the world, or some secret scheme of ecclesiastical ambition, could induce any man to undertake the vows of monastic self-sacrifice. But these vows were, in innumerable instances, genuine and unaffected; and young noblemen, like St. Bernard and his brothers, frequently exceeded the severity of the rules, abandoned all their worldly wealth and honours, reduced their diet to the minimum of nutriment, and spent their long and laborious lives in a painful abnegation of all the comforts of the body. So fashionable, indeed, became the sacrifice at last, that Kings and Emperors and

Barons bold, their wives and sisters, after having satiated their passions and appetites, or felt the disappointments and fearful uncertainties of the perilous times, were glad to submit to the rules of the convent and escape from the world ; whilst sworn and devoted monks, called out from the cloister, were chosen to ascend the throne of St. Peter and give laws to the world, thus incorporating the soul of the monkish life with the body of society and infusing its spirit into every artery and vein of the political community. The Benedictines alone, in the eighteenth century, could reckon up fifty Patriarchs and Popes, two hundred Cardinals, sixteen hundred Archbishops, four thousand six hundred Bishops, four Emperors, twelve Empresses, forty-six Kings, and a countless number of Canonised Saints, who had belonged to their fraternity, and taken at least, if not kept, their vows.

We need not enumerate the various fraternities of Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, or Augustines ; or the shoemaker and tailor monks ; or the innumerable orders of sisterhoods ; or the military monks, Templars and Hospitaliers, some of these transforming themselves at last into our modern aristocratical orders of knighthood, and ending in vanity, as their predecessors in corruption, for all these are of later institution and less universal utility ; but we select the Benedictines as the origin of all, and occupying the whole field of the history

of the Restoration, as well as the construction of society in the West.

The different fraternities, however, were of immense utility during the Middle Ages, and indispensable for the restoration, and even the existence, of society. The military monks, who offered their services to escort the pilgrims to the Holy Shrines, were a species of rural police that protected the country in a far more efficient manner than could have been done by hired, and loose, and abandoned military, who were not subject to any moral discipline; and the Hospitaliers, who opened *hospices* for travellers in dreary and desolate regions little frequented, and entirely unprovided with commercial inns like those of modern times, and who also defended them with physical force, were effectual means of opening highways through the wilderness of society, and establishing and maintaining a regular intercourse between distant provinces. And in those dreary times, when no commercial speculation existed, and no enterprising capitalist could undertake a contract for constructing public edifices, and no public funds were available even to encourage him if he could, the wayfaring man would have been ever obstructed in his onward path by the insuperable obstacles of rivers, had it not been for monks, who established orders for constructing and maintaining ferries and building bridges wherever they were wanted. A species of holy inspiration appears to have seized upon individuals, in

divers times and places, for furthering this great fundamental work. A single illustration will suffice for many more. A young shepherd of the name of Benedict, now St. Benedict, or Benoit, the patron saint of Avignon, kept his mother's little flock in the neighbourhood of that city in the twelfth century. At the age of twelve he reflected deeply on the dangers incurred by the poor peasants in crossing the Rhone ; and he conceived, by reputed inspiration, and inspiration it was, the idea of building a bridge. He went to the Archbishop and revealed his purpose. The Archbishop was astonished ; but even in those days men sometimes disbelieved in inspiration, even as they do always now ; and priests could be found who laughed at spiritual manifestations, as they still do. The boy was treated as crazy by the Archbishop, but still not altogether disbelieved ; for he was commended to one of the magistrates, to whom he revealed his divine calling. The magistrate believed. And the people, hearing of it, believed also ; and the work was commenced, and the great undertaking—a work for the nineteenth century itself—was at last accomplished in the erection of a bridge of nineteen arches ; and the young saint died as soon as it was finished, at the age of nineteen. He was ranked amongst the blessed, and a chapel was built for the interment of his body on the bridge itself ; and, five hundred years after his decease, his body was found entire ; the very pupils of his eyes had pre-

served their colour ; so they say ; and in 1674, the Archbishop of Avignon, in grand procession, accompanied by a splendid train of bishops, nobility, clergy and gentry, and much people, transferred the relics to the church of the Celestines. This youth was the founder of an order of Bridge-makers, Hospitaliers Pontifes, in France, who did not confine themselves to making bridges, but assisted also in building cathedrals and parish churches, animated solely by religious feelings, and subject to rules of discipline. It is to an Italian Pontifex, or Bridgemaker Monk, of the name of Jucundus, that the Parisians owe the construction of two of their bridges—the Pont Neuf and the Petit Pont.

The vast, the primal importance of a bridge, as an element of civilisation, cannot fail to remind us of the primitive name of the Roman Pontiff—a title by no means fanciful, but sublimely prophetic of his mission in the Middle Ages, as the principal means of arching the highway of civilisation at the head of his large, his devoted, and industrial army of trained and disciplined pioneers, without whose aid we might still have been, as the ancient Britons, a stagnant race of rude and uncultivated men, incapable of advancing for want of a viaduct. This viaduct the Pontiff made ; and for this he richly deserves, to this day, the name of Pontifex Maximus, the Great Bridgemaker of Western Civilisation.

But still, for all this, the monastic institution was only an expedient for the times. It cannot be regarded as an ultimate for permanent establishment. It is a great effort of piety in resisting rude nature and overcoming the first obstacles to the cultivation of the soil and the formation of society. Hence the propriety and expediency of the doctrine that accompanied it, that Nature was an enemy to man. And so she is in her rude and uncultivated state : who is there amongst us, in the nineteenth century, who does not think so still ? But the monk was taught to regard it as an absolute, whereas it is only a relative, truth ; and his rules of living were framed accordingly. The life of a monk was an unnatural life, repressing the purest and the best of those feelings with which Nature has endowed the two sexes of humanity for their mutual comfort and their moral improvement. The monk was enjoined to strive against nature as his greatest enemy, and to find a substitute for nature in grace, which is only a supersensual grade of nature ; and the difficulty the poor man experienced in this is evident from the very severity of the laws which he imposed upon himself. St. Augustin, the founder of clerical and canonical monachism, would never suffer a woman, not even his own sister, to converse in his house. Theodorus enjoined his monks not even to speak to a woman, except in the presence of two witnesses. In Curzon's " Monasteries of the East," we read of a monk of the present

generation who, at forty years of age, in a monastery on Monte Santo, had never seen a woman, and curiously inquired what sort of creature she was. It was the rule of many of the monastic orders not to visit a sick man in any house until all the women had left it. So severe an ordeal caused a natural re-action. The sensual nature rebelled against the supersensual, and brought forth, by craft and subtlety, another evil, equally powerful and weighty, to counteract and to balance it. The monastic anti-naturals, being denied so imperiously the indulgence of natural love, began to burn with its spiritual analogue, spiritual love and love divine. St. Teresa died of love; but it was not human love. "*Intolerabili divini amoris incendio, potius quam vi morbi, purissimum animum Deo reddidit*"—"In the insufferable flame of a Divine love, rather than through the force of disease, she yielded up her pure soul to God." St. Francis burned in a similar manner. In Butler's life of the saint we have a translation of one of his love songs :

Into love's furnace I am cast,
I burn, I languish, pine, and waste ;
O, Love Divine ! how sharp thy dart !
How deep the wound that galls my heart !
As wax in heat, so from above
My smitten soul dissolves in love, &c.

The purity of this divine love in the greater saints we do not dispute ; but there are greater and lesser saints in the musical scale, and in these lesser saints it often assumed a more terrestrial

character. Even the great ones are a little suspicious. The Dominican Breviary represents the Dominican Monks in Heaven as nestling in the bosom of the Virgin ; and in a book of miracles written by James Sprenger, for the Society of the Rosary, we are told that Alain de la Roche, a Dominican Friar, had a visit of the Blessed Virgin in person, who presented her bosom to be kissed by him, and indulged him in a manner not to be recorded. He swears by the Holy Trinity and imprecates a curse upon himself if this is not true : nor do we doubt it. It is as natural as nightmare. Visions are always appropriate for the state of the mind that receives them. They are either assimilants or re-agents. We believe Alain, and we also believe Andrew Steinmetz, when he says, that when he was a novice in the order of the Jesuits, and cultivating his devotional feelings by rule, he “prayed to the male saints of the calendar with warmth, but poured forth his soul’s languishings to the Agathas, Teresas and Perpetuas, with rapturous devotion.” It was so also with the nuns to the male saints ; and the marriages recorded between these ladies and the Saviour, the particular Brides and the Universal Bridegroom, often partake of the Dominican type of Alain de la Roche. It is devotional excess. Extremes meet. The highest order of spiritual approaches the sensual as its material counterpart. When spurious it fails and is corrupted ; when genuine it succeeds ; but the

classical theology that preaches only somniferous morality can only do so by going from the fire to the cold and chilly atmosphere, where it neither burns nor kindles, and where its rounded periods and morbid philosophical decorum, however beautiful in the abstract, never touch the heart, but remind us of the stone which the children receive when they ask for bread. But its preachers are safe—amazingly safe—for their words are indigestible, and therefore never enter the blood. Perhaps, however, even the erring soul that burns is nearer to heaven than the respectable soul that is never kindled. Even the suspicious-looking doctrine that God is loved through the medium of his creature, his image and representative, is the truth after all : it is heaven itself : but the truth is delicate, as everything beautiful is, and the higher and the nobler the doctrine, the more dangerous to play with. We may, therefore, look for a fall in the first attempt to solve the delicate problem ; nor can we wonder at the fall of the monks when the secular clergy themselves were in the habit of paying to the Bishop a tax for permission to keep a natural wife ; and so popular was this system that the people often preferred the priests who kept concubines. Public opinion favoured the apostacy. It was Nature speaking as she could be heard.

Lower down in the scale of sense than the golden days of primitive monachism and mystical

but regulated love, we find the monks and nuns together in holy communion, elaborating the doctrine of spiritual and personal love, and demonstrating to each other that love is religion, and religion love—that even the Eucharist is only a symbol of love—that men and women worship God in one another—that the ultimate of Divine Love is attained through Human Sexual love. Begun in faith and perhaps in purity, and kindled by quotations from the Song of Solomon, this doctrine often descended from heaven to earth, from the spirit to the flesh, from theory to practice; and we have, in the autobiography of Scipio di Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia, actual revelations of the excesses committed, even since the Protestant Epoch, under the inspiration of this doctrine, handed down by mystic tradition from the Middle Ages. The evil that crept in by mysticism at last was admitted without it; and the twenty-third article of the petition presented by the University of Oxford to the King, for the Reformation of the Church, in 1414, contains the following evidence of the depravity of the lives of the monks at the time :—“ Whereas exempt monks being tempted by the devil, and frequently polluted by the lusts of the flesh, are not punished by their own superiors, but continue their sins with impunity, it seems expedient, that ordinaries should have a full power to punish and reform all monks, and especially for the sins of fornication committed in the cloister.”

It is altogether a natural development of a system begun with good intentions, and high devotional faith, but blindly misled by the supposition that Nature is an instrument of the Devil, and must be suppressed in her desires and resisted in her impulses. The consequence was, that she merely translated the Love into another meaning, stole into the heart by another passage, and at last, like Eve in the garden, resisted the law by a logical process. It is a wonderful art, the art of translation ; but it is a dangerous art for sensuous Liberty. The moral Law makes it safe. The Gospel without the Law—that is, the Law of Moral Government—would lead men to Licentiousness. It has therefore borrowed, in all ages, a part of it, even when it nominally professed to be emancipated from it ; and the Scotch Presbyterians, who dislike a Moral Preacher, acknowledge the necessity for the Moral Law of Government. Law, when absolute, requires no preaching: it is a command. It is the Gospel that preaches. If it casts off the Law when it revels in its mystic Liberty, it becomes licentious.

The Labours of the Monks, with all their failings, were particularly useful to the inhabitants of the towns ; for, though spiritual men by profession, they did material service, both with their hands and their moral influence, and the corporate strength which they derived from their number and character, as well as the central protection of the Pontiff. They cultivated their own lands, and encouraged

their tenants by precept and example, and mild administration; and historians agree that the farms of the monasteries were in better condition than those of the barons, their tenants more comfortable, and even better protected by the cowl than the helmet; and corporate institutions being more secure from barbarous invasion than isolated farmers could be, they thus became the great producers and accumulators of food. By their encouragement of commerce and trade, and their construction of roads, bridges and inns, they restored the social and commercial intercourse between distant localities, and thus, under their benignant patronage, the towns grew larger, magnificent cathedrals began to arise, and schools everywhere, and universities in central cities, to be founded and endowed; whilst the resident Bishops, with their Canons—all more or less of the monastic order—and all keeping up a close correspondence with the clergy throughout the country, were ever at hand to prepare for the defensive in case of danger. This danger chiefly came from the Baronial Castles, though sometimes also from Baronial Abbots in Monasteries, where the great Lord maintained a claim to supremacy over the towns, and to tax them at his pleasure, keeping ever in his fort a band of well armed and desperate retainers, whose education, profession, and personal associations had taught them to despise the burgher as a low, a timid, and a sneaking coward and knave, the legitimate

prey and the scorn of the soldier, who alone was noble. For five hundred years the burghers endured this oppression of the chiefs ; but gradually increasing in number and wealth under the patronage of the monasteries, they found themselves prepared, in the twelfth century, to rise *en masse* over all the West, and maintain their independence at the point of the sword. They succeeded ; and from that time the merchant began to grow honourable, and, at last, a prince amongst princes ; and the Italian Republics, under the patronage of such men, once more established the municipal system of Athens and Rome, and revived the literature and the arts of antiquity. The towns are the nurseries of all the arts, and the irreconcilable enemies of feudalism. An autocratical baron and a powerful municipal corporation are incompatible authorities : one or other must yield, or both must compromise. This latter was the result, and society gained by the neutralisation of the two forces ; for each has inspired it with its own peculiar spirit, and thus preserved by treaty what might have been lost by victory. But commerce and trade, and all their modern multifold machinery, are the offspring of the towns ; and these are more indebted to the secular and regular clergy of the middle ages than to either the kings or their barons. The Church nurtured the towns in their infancy, and thus became the nurse, as well as the mother, of modern civilisation.

The anti-naturalism of the monks was well balanced in the middle ages by the brute and savage naturalism of the laity in general, who abandoned themselves, with little restraint, to the indulgence of the whole catalogue of the passions; for they paid a fine for their sins, and were easily whitewashed. And thus humanity collectively atoned for the sins of one portion of the community, by the penance imposed by the other on itself; and by means of the doctrine of supererogation, the surplus merit of one was transferred to another, or even sold to him for money, as available for entrance at the gates of heaven. It was a Catholic doctrine, embracing the unity of the church, and the balance of sins and virtue, *en masse*.

The times were rude and ignorant, and therefore winked at by Justice, who judges individuals by relative, but systems by absolute, law. But the rude manners of the laity in general were gradually laying the foundation of institutions essential to the constitution and progress of the national system, which was destined to succeed the spiritual and feudal reign of the middle ages. The fierce and the sensuous, the proud and domineering Barons of feudal times contributed their share to the formation of society. Without them, the towns would have grown up over all the West, like the old Greek and Roman towns, as was very much the case in the Italian Republics, where the old system had never been entirely abolished. The

ancient cities of Greece and Italy had no Baronial Castles near them, and therefore became little petty states, which fought with each other, until some greater serpent swallowed up the rest, and was itself in turn swallowed up, and Rome completed the conquest of the whole. The Barons forbade such a state of things to reappear in the world ; and by merely defending their own feuds, as rustic or extramural sovereigns, they at last succeeded in establishing the system of modern territorial aristocracy, which has done great service to literature and art ; giving free development to the action of individual will and agricultural industry, contributing also to form associations of higher caste, to patronise the lay in opposition to the ecclesiastical arts, to restore the old and cultivate the new, to polish the language and the manners of society, and preserve the dignity of national character and political diplomacy. Those powerful territorial chiefs, though tyrants in general to the towns which they claimed, were also their protectors in times of extremity ; and in that capacity they secured the municipal freedom of the towns from being overborne by monarchical power, which, had it not been for the castle alone, would have destroyed the liberties of the nation, and made the West what the East remains, for want of such elements, to this day.

During the Middle Ages the wars which prevailed and kept society in a state of perpetual agitation

were petty or feudal wars. The Era of Nationality was not then come. But speedily after the emancipation of the Towns, when States General were formed or being formed in France, Cortes in Spain and Portugal, and Parliaments in England, and the Commons were beginning to look like a collective people, the principle of nationality began to bud, and to show itself as the dawn of the coming Era ; and nothing contributed more to give this nationality a definite character than the national wars, which began in the fifteenth century, to take the place of the feudal wars, and thus to call upon the patriotism of a people, instead of the jealousy of a feudal domain. This collected the scattered forces of feudalism and municipalism round the central authority of the Crown, and enabled it to organise the collective body and subject its numerous and conflicting parts to a definite system of administrative law, a preparation for a new and larger idea of political combination than the Middle Ages present, until the dawn of nationality in the fifteenth century ; and no better signal of the commencement of that nationalism in the West can be given than the mission of the celebrated Maid of Orleans, commissioned from on high, like Deborah, the Hebrew warrior prophetess, to deliver the leading nation of Europe, in a critical emergency of conflict with England, and crown, as if by right divine, the monarch Charles VII of France, who was destined to lay the foundation of nationality in France, by the establishment of a

standing army, and the consolidation of the Royal power over all the provincial Lords of the nation. "Never," says Guizot, "had the French government been more devoid of unity, connexion and strength, than under the reign of Charles VI, and during the first part of that of Charles VII. At the end of this latter reign, the aspect of all things changed. There was evidently a strengthening, extending and organising of power: all the great means of government—taxes, military force, law—were created upon a great scale, and with some uniformity. This was the time of the formation of standing armies, free companies, cavalry; and free archers, infantry. By these companies Charles VII re-established some order in provinces, which had been desolated by the disorders and exactions of the soldiers, even after war had ceased. All contemporary historians speak of the marvellous effects of the free companies. It was at the same epoch that the poll-tax, one of the principal revenues of the kingdom, became perpetual—a serious blow to the liberties of the people, but which powerfully contributed to the regularity and strength of the government. At this time, too, the great instrument of Power, the administration of Justice, was extended and organised; parliaments multiplied." After the expulsion of the English, also, the provinces which they occupied became definitively French; and soon afterward ten more provinces were added to the unity, and France began to look like a nation in

the century preceding the national era of which she was destined to take the lead. All this was the immediate consequence of the mission of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, in describing whose character classical, or so-called, historians, exhibit little wisdom and no classical predilections ; and even the muse of Shakespeare deserts him, and puts a vicious blot upon his otherwise fair and charitable fame.* The national mission is, by analogy, a feminine mission of rivalry, and France is its representative—*La Belle Nation*, *La Grande Nation*; and there was beautiful analogical propriety in laying the foundation stone of her national greatness by the hand of a Virgin Military Prophetess.

Other nations began to centralise themselves about the same time, by the kingly power acquiring the ascendancy, and making use of the democracy to overrule the power of the Barons, and the power of the Barons to overrule the towns. But France is, *par excellence*, the central and centralising nation. The Spains were united, at the end of the fifteenth century, into one Spain. England then also terminated her war of the Roses, and established her embryo system of representative government. The Italian Republics were succeeded by duchies or little monarchies. And thus to appearance a great number of absolute monarchies arose in the form of nations, or duchies,

* See the First Part of King Henry VI, act fifth, scene fourth.

which put an end to old feudalism by increasing the power of the crown, and at the same time weakened the old Spiritual Empire, by substituting a strong temporal power in each nation, capable of resisting the dictatorship of Rome, and thus closing her mediæval career. By these means society in the West was at last finally constituted into a fourfold system, consisting of the Church, the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Democracy, differently graduated in different countries ; the latter strongest in the North-west, as being the latest movement. And just about the time when this work was completed, the capital of the Eastern Empire was taken by the Turks, and the Eastern division of the Roman world thus finally reduced under the authority of the Absolute One—the law of the Prophet ; and the dramatic arrangement of the East and the West was thus prepared for the suitable performance of the forthcoming Era, of which nationality, both in State and Church, forms the leading idea, especially in the direction of the movement of civilisation, at the dramatic terminus of the old world ; France taking the precedence, as an independent, self-governed state, and England as a church and state.

SCENE SEVENTH.

THE KNIGHTS AND THE LADIES.

The middle ages will ever be charming in story and song. They are the ages of romance, of honour, of love and of courage ; and the more distant they become, the more aerial the shades and more golden the lights by which they are represented in the pictures of the fancy. Rude times they were, but cradle and nursery times of coming greatness ; and the seeds of greatness were plentifully sown, and the types of the future appeared abundantly. The age indeed was a type of the greater age that is yet in the future—a catholic age, in which high principle claimed the ascendancy, and men attempted great things, failing more for want of power than of will to excel. The services of men for public, in preference to private, duty, were greatly in demand, and the supply was profuse : men were wanted to sacrifice themselves, and they cheerfully submitted to the stern decree ; they courted danger and difficulty, and seemed to delight in mortification and penance. It is less wonderful that professional monks should take the vows of self-abnegation, but that noblemen and gentlemen should imitate their example, and armed with mail, with sword and lance, and mounted on war-steed,

should sally forth under the vows of abstinence from all the comforts of life, to encounter peril for the church, the poor and the pilgrim, and to deserve the favour of a bright-eyed dame whose soul was kindled with heroic love, and resolved to share her heart and hand with none but the bold, the adventurous, and the daring, the devout and the faithful, is a fact that modern quietude can scarcely understand, but delights to hear of. It is like the old castle or abbey ruin which forms a glorious object in the richly wooded and picturesque landscape, but is better adapted for a subject for the pencil than a home for the feelings.

Chivalry has a high name, and it richly deserves it, for its purpose alone : its aims were noble, and if it could not accomplish much, it has still the credit for having attempted it. It saw the world in want of protection and it generously advanced and offered its services : willing to be useful and not knowing how, it waited for instruction ; and when once it heard that the pilgrims to Jerusalem were afflicted by the Saracens, when it listened to the eloquence that resounded through Europe, in favour of a crusade against the hated infidel, it hailed the event as a gospel of glad tidings, and believed in the recovery of the Holy Land by the sacred instrumentality of the horse and his rider, Pharaoh's own instruments. From that time forward chivalry became a religion, and noblemen and gentlemen were fired with a holy ambition to serve the

church and secure their salvation, and acquire a name for heroism, in following the banner of the Cross against the Crescent.

This was a catholic and unitary passion: we see at once the analogy between it and the age. It collected the scattered forces of feudalism into one and arrayed them all as united brethren against the common foe. The clergy had always been opponents of petty warfare; but this they encouraged as the war of the Most High—the Holy War—the War of the Cross—of Michael against the Dragon. They predicted success because of its sanctity, and they insured the warrior a plenary absolution of all his sins, and a high reward on the other side of the grave, if he failed to enrich himself with plunder on this. Plunder, however, he sought and he wanted. The world was strangely mixed up with the faith in his mind; and the ladies (Gibbon affected to blush when he recorded the fact, though we do not) were associated with God in the championship which he professed. The Champion of God and the ladies, and the lover of infidel and heretical plunder, was solemnly invested with a religious mission, consecrated by holy rites, bound by vows to purity of life and morals, sworn to be courteous and just to all, patient and forgiving, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of meekness and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. And his lady moreover bound him in private to be faithful and true to her, and he took the oath and ac-

cepted the token, and he swore to defend her against all aggression, and break a lance with every defamer who dared to sully her name and reputation. And such was the charm of this new species of religion, this union of God and my Lady, to which was added the pheasant, the bird of the East,* that warriors in battle were wont to challenge each other to fight by reviling their lady loves, or branding their names and scandalising their fame. It was another step of the progress of woman, a proof of advancement even in those rude and perilous, monkish and ignorant times. We see no such gallantry in ancient Greece, nor even in ancient Rome. But the Dark Ages, the ages in which Art and Literature were suppressed, are distinguished above all preceding ages for a delicate and refined appreciation of the moral and æsthetic qualities of woman. Unlike the classical Greek representations of social life, where woman was a slave and a prisoner without hope, the unclassical romance of *Perceforest* describes a banquet at which eight hundred knights had each of them a high-born lady eating off his plate. How much more beautiful this than either Greek or Roman feasting! If not exactly palatable to pure modern taste, it is typically true to the ideality of love. It is the type of a purer social communion

* An oath of the crusading knight began as follows:—"I swear before God, my Creator, in the first place, and the Glorious Virgin, His Mother, and next before the Ladies and the Pheasant." Sometimes the peacock was added. Both are birds of the East.

than earth has ever witnessed ; the effort of a will to embody a spirit which imagined both great and beautiful things ; and is not yet foiled, though Burke has informed us that "The age of chivalry is gone, and that of sophisters, economists and calculators, has succeeded." The monks had studied the problem of sex in one aspect, the knights viewed it in another, and both spiritualised it ; and whatever their private practice might be, their profession was that of a dignified purism.

This new principle belongs to Germany. It came from the Barbarians ; but it was in perfect harmony with the feminine principle of the new or Christian Drama. The monks developed the Christianity of the idea, and indoctrinated the laity ; the laity themselves were prepared with the social view of the subject ; and the two ideas amalgamated when they met, and reciprocally aided and strengthened each other. The laity commended the monastic celibacy and separation of the sexes, and the monks and clergy encouraged the chivalrous purity and devotion ; and the feminine principle by this means attained a greater elevation than it had ever previously enjoyed in the history of society. But the re-action, in the case of the chevaliers, was equally great as in that of the monks ; and after a few generations of strenuous effort to accomplish their own impracticable idea, they relaxed in zeal, and gradually descended into a *hades* of corruption, that demanded the sup-

pression of the orders of knighthood, except in such Royal and grandiose form as now characterises them at the courts of princes, where they no longer assume the religious character, and where, we fear, they have not failed to justify the translation of the word gallantry into a meaning that it was not originally intended to bear.

But no institution of such pretensions as chivalry can die without leaving a remnant of its native spirit behind it; and that remnant we can easily perceive in those courteous forms of behaviour which now distinguish the accomplished gentleman and lady: those delicate modes of speech, that affability of manner, that respect for the feelings of others, and that self-respect, and maintenance of dignity and character by strict regard to truth and honour, which were the profession of chivalry at the first, and still are the distinguishing features of those who are animated by its spirit at the last.

We owe much to chivalry as a germ; we look at it, not in itself alone, for it speedily disappeared in its original character. But it attacked the rudeness of the age, and transformed and polished it. The lady was ennobled as the mistress of the knight, and she strove to deserve the rank she sustained; and, whilst he served the Church and humanity abroad, she cultivated the sphere of domestic life, and introduced, by her taste and her industry, the comforts and the elegancies of the home circle.

Her taste was exemplified in the working of tapestry, in the decoration of furniture, in the study of dress and elegance, and of music and song; in the arrangement of banquets, and the regulation of manners and social etiquette; and all these objects were pursued the more easily and the more certainly, in that she was acknowledged, by the chivalry of the times, to be a supreme arbiter, both in matters of taste and in valour itself. She not only attended the tournaments of the knights, but distributed the honours with her own hand; and the harnessed warrior bent before her person as before a divinity, and acknowledged the superiority of a gentler nature to that of his own. It was the homage of strength to weakness, of war to peace; of the mission of the sword to a higher and a nobler mission, which was represented in the germ of the New Drama, and which was budding into life, but was not yet definitely expressed, revealed, or apprehended, in the doctrines of the Church or the philosophy of the Schools.

The principle was sublime, and its results were beautiful. How picturesque and admirable are all the relics of chivalrous times! what noble subjects for the pencil of the artist! from the gorgeous cathedral, the house of God—with its massive or lofty towers; its arched orient window of richly designed and colossal stone frame-work or tracery, and deeply stained and light-subduing glass; its elegantly decorated rood screen, panelled and painted altar

screen, high altar and five crosses, and other symbols of redemption ; its huge buttresses without, and its bundled pillars and tall arches within, and its lofty clerestory and groined ceiling—down to the castle of the nobleman or the mansion of the gentleman, with its baronial hall ; its splayed and labelled windows, sturdy tiebeams and rafters, or groined and bossed roof ; the dripped arches, windows and doors ; the brackets, niches and housings, with their quaint and venerable images ; the tracery of the walls ; and the spandrels filled with sculptured shields, foliage and heads, and mottoes expressing the faith in God, the love of honour, courage and virtue, which the owner accepted as maxims or precepts for himself and his household—or the humbler dwelling of the mediæval burgess or citizen, proudly swelling and enlarging its area, as it rises from the ground, bespeaking the hopes, the aims, and the ambition of the commoner, and predicting his future, with its projecting upper stories that meet their opposite fellows in the street, and almost arch it over, and are now the objects of artistic attraction, and yearly pilgrimage for scenic sketches of romantic ideality and absorbing interest ! All these are either works or inspirations of chivalrous times ; and they still continue to afford to the soul of the Painter, the Poet, and the Romancist the richest subjects of imaginative art. If, then, the mediæval ages were not classical, if the poets were rude, and the historians legendary, they have at least the merit of inspiring the future, both

with poetry and art, and rivalling and even exceeding the classical ages, in the magnificence of the ideality which they have transmitted to posterity. Each age and each language has its mission. The vernacular tongues of the middle ages were neither Greek nor Latin, and they were yet young and undeveloped ; but the soul or the germ of a glorious future was in the people, and their handiwork, if not their literature, will bear comparison with the proudest relics of classical antiquity. There is a quiet and a dignified grandeur about all the works of that wonderful age which impresses us with awe and solemnity, as the soul of a people inspired with ideas superior, in many respects, to our own. Their very dress is dignified. All partakes of the cathedral type, the living monument of the age of chivalry, and evidences to every feeling mind, that, however inferior that age may have been in literature and lesser art to the age of Greece, it had a special grandeur and magnificence of its own, which the more it is studied and understood, the more it will be admired, in comparison with its predecessors. It was not retrograde. It was nobler than that of Greece or political Rome, as the cathedral is nobler than the temple ; as chivalry is nobler than female enthrallment and hetairism, and vassalism than slavery, and filial duty than filial subjection ; as devotion to a universal community is better than petty municipal patriotism ; as Catholic unity is a grander

idea than any ever was entertained by the schools of ancient philosophy. We can prove the superiority by the extant monuments of both missions. The soul of Gothic architecture is greater than that of the Corinthian order, or even than that of an Apollo Belvedere or a Venus de Medicis. Give the Greeks their prose and their poetry—their mission was in language, and logical skill, and imitative art—but give the Mediæval Christians their architecture, their music, and their catholic ideality, and they will stand competition with all that preceded them as a race of heroes and heroines. Even the children themselves of the Catholic times, like Michael Angelo's children, were men; and ninety thousand of them, under the leadership of a boy, collected together, and set out from Germany to fight against the Infidels, and only stopped when they came to the sea at Marseilles, which they did not know of, and could go no farther. Did Greece, or Pagan Rome, ever produce such children as those? No; they could only be begotten by the chivalrous men and spirited burgesses of the Middle Ages, and brought forth by the women whom chivalry enthroned as the arbiters of merit in love and religion and personal courage, or devotion exalted above the fear of death, or the love of offspring, or the dangers and the difficulties of a weary pilgrimage in desolate regions, without accommodation for men or beasts.

But we must not put all into one scale of the

balance. Justice requires a bipolarity of judgment; and there is no occasion to search very deeply to discover the vices of the chivalrous ages. The high spirituality and catholicity of the times were wofully counterbalanced by their opposite materialism. The motives of the crusading gentry were very suspicious. Their devotional professions were singularly blended with the love of plunder and the contempt of justice. Unable to retain possession of the Holy Land, and determined not to return empty, they fell upon the Christians of the Greek Empire like an army of banditti, and committed the most revolting excesses. Not content with plundering the private occupants of the soil, they took possession of the Empire itself, and elevated a series of Five Frenchmen on the throne of the Cæsars, with little regard for the welfare and prosperity of the people whom they subdued. They plundered the palaces and churches of the capital; and the booty collected by the Knights of the Cross, who had taken the oath which bound them to justice, self-mortification, mercy, respect for the rights of the poor, and sympathy with the oppressed, was estimated at 200,000 pounds' weight of silver; in those days equal to more than twenty times its present value. Besides this, they did not hesitate to commit sacrilege in the churches: "they cast the relics into unclean places," according to Fleury; "they scattered on the ground the body and blood of the Lord; they employed the sacred vases for profane

uses ; and an insolent woman danced in the sanctuary, and seated herself in the chair of the priest." But the Greek Churches were heretical, and therefore the profanation was doubtful ! The Pope—the proudest of Popes, even Innocent III—did not approve of these loose proceedings in the Churches, but he approved of the conquest ; for his object was to make use of the Crusaders as a means of recovering the Empire of the East and the two arches of his Ponte Rotto. And in the gratitude of his heart he gave thanks to God for the possession of the Eastern Capital, with all its accompanying profanations, expressing himself in these words—he, the most haughty of Pontiffs—" God, willing to console the Church by the reunion of Schismatics, has caused the empire of the *haughty, superstitious, and disobedient Greeks* to pass over to the *humble, catholic and submissive Latins*." But the words were not ratified in heaven, though spoken by the Pope.

The chivalry of the Crusades was powerfully instrumental in maintaining and promoting the Catholicity of the times and the power of the Popes ; and therefore they represent the period of Papal ascendancy, when the haughty Bishop of Rome trode upon princes, kicked their crowns with his feet, and made them hold his stirrups ; and when these wild and devotional excesses had experienced a final defeat in the Holy Land, the Pope, Innocent III, aware of the influence which he gained by turning the arms of the nobility and

gentry rather against the enemies of the church, than suffering them to riot in feudal excesses against each other, conceived the idea of preaching crusades against heretical, disobedient, and refractory Christian kings, who refused to submit to his Papal dictation. He preached a crusade against England in the reign of King John, one against the Hungarians, and another against the Norwegians and the heretical Albigenses, who preferred the authority of Scripture to the authority of the Pope. And by the Lord's assistance, as Roger of Wendover says, the crusading knights took the heretical town of Beziers with little loss of their own blood ; whilst the heretics were slaughtered in great numbers, and their city sacked and plundered, and a hundred castles taken, which they left untenanted, and well stocked with provisions. Glorious news for the church and the lady loves ! And from these heretical crusades arose the idea of the Inquisition, which was merely a development of the original idea of warring against the infidels, and obtaining complete and exclusive possession of the Holy Land. The Crusades of the East were translated into the Crusades of the West ; and the latter were organised and established as a permanent institution in that fearful engine of spiritual authority which translated the sword of the knight into the rack and the wheel, the red-hot pincers and the burning fagot of the merciless Dominican, who preached the faith with his tongue, and held the

torch in his hand for application to the flesh of all who refused to be persuaded by his eloquence or convinced by his logic. The Inquisition is dead as it once existed, but the spirit of it lives. It is the fire, the fire of love and jealousy, that burns up in wrath the spirit that resists it. "Love is strong as death, jealousy cruel as the grave ; the coals thereof are coals of fire, which have a most vehement flame." Every passion is bipolar ; good in one aspect and bad in another. In this planetary life we see both hemispheres of a passion developed in succession or opposition—the fruit of the tree of good and evil. It is a life of antagonism : that is, of Satanism ; and the best and noblest of purposes, when foiled and thwarted, do naturally beget the worst of re-actionary feelings and movements : the deeper the love, the more cruel and reckless the jealousy, when it is excited. Love keeps an executioner, it keeps an Inquisitor ; and thus it is that Roman Catholics, looking at Inquisitors as the agents of Love, are blind to their cruelties, and see only mercy to the many in the tortures inflicted on the few. The heretics see only the cruelty without the love ; and the man who is an angel to one party is a demon to the other. Both sexes exhibit the same contrariety in their nature. The lady love of the valorous knight, so gentle, so pure, so chaste and noble, is only so to him who looks at the creature with a chivalrous eye ; but shut that eye, and look at her with the other, and you see a

lioness, a tigress, a vulture, a proud, haughty, overbearing, persecuting bigot, who backed and supported the knight in all but his illicit amours, who rejoiced in the plunder with which he returned, who commended his zeal in the persecution of heretics, who shrank not, who fainted not, at the fearful reports of the tortures inflicted on Bible-readers, and thinkers that refused to adore the Grand Fetich, and submit their reason, their divinity and humanity, to the dictatorship of the Cowl. You see in this lady fair a small-hearted genealogist and family advocate and trumpetress, whom a Moslem would call a she-dog, and an English cockney Protestant something equally expressive. Those were times in which the two extremes of the passions were better separated than in mercantile days—when loves were stronger and hatreds more intense—when partialities were more unjust, and impartialities were fast asleep—when a friendship directed to one was fed with the fuel of hostility to another—when revenge was noble, and hauteur was dignified, and scorn was magnanimous—and when the lady love of a gentle knight wore a knife in her girdle, along with her keys, like the Pope himself; and, like his, they were crossed, as everything was that is characteristic of the Middle Ages. For, as the Pope has two keys, the one to undo what the other does, and two swords to represent the Satanism of an antagonistic mission, so the spirit and the manners of men were distin-

guished by a divarication of character which makes every description of the times inaccurate, which does not represent them, like the planet itself, as white on one side and black on the other.

Christianity began with peace and a declaration of peaceful intentions. The early Christians refused to fight. "We do not fight with our enemies," said St. Jerome. "I am a soldier of Jesus Christ, and therefore I do not fight," said St. Martin; and now, in the Middle Ages, the peace is translated into war, and men are consecrated, like Bishops, to fight for the possession of a piece of ground which the Church considers its own property, though Providence has deemed it expedient to give it to another. How singularly the germ of the Gospel develops itself into opposite meanings! and not without reason. The mystic messenger of the new covenant said to his disciples, "He that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one;" and they answered, "Lo, here are two swords;" and he replied, "It is enough." Enough! quite enough! And what is the use of a sword if it is *not* to be used? Accordingly Peter, the type of the Middle Ages, and the first Crusader against the Infidels, drew it, and cut off the right ear of the High Priest's servant. And he was rebuked; and the ear was healed. But here are both sides of the question taught—injunctions to buy a sword, permission to wear a sword, implying a right to use it, and, after all, a gentle rebuke for using it against

the right ear, which is merely the East, as the right arm is the law, the absolute principle. The germ of peace in the infant Gospel was susceptible of development into war at last, though that war, having fulfilled its mission, submits to rebuke and sheathes its sword. The bipolarity of the original Word of Christianity is admirably illustrated in this one fact ; and whatever judgment men may pass upon Crusaders and Christian warriors, they are still to be defended by paralogical reasoning on the twofold character of the mystic oracle, which is compared to a two-edged sword that cuts both right and left, and accommodates itself to the circumstances of the times. Nevertheless, the conclusion is absolute, that they who use the sword must perish by it. The Church that either defends, or extends and enlarges, or establishes itself by the sword, must come down. The steel is an inferior instrument ; and the final mission is not given to the inferior, but to the superior, to establish that form or condition of Church which can have no successor. But the two go down the stream of time together, and the last is the first at last. They are merely the double fruit of the tree of good and evil ; the evil being the first-born. But the absolute law for both must be established in the end—"The elder shall serve the younger." The Spirit shall conquer the steel, and supersede with its own what the steel has established.

High-principled as they were in the Middle Ages,

there was haughty, supercilious pride in their highness, as there ever is in the sword of steel. Humility does not belong to an age of war and of chivalry. Rivalry and contention are fed by exclusiveness and caste and genealogical pride. The age of the horse and the sword is the age of the serf, the villain and the knave, the names that were given by the territorial rich to the labourers in the field and the cotters in the village. The principles of equality and fraternity were not known in those days; the Christian brotherhood was lost, and its bondage in Egypt was realised. Christ himself went down into Egypt; Christianity, in primitive times, went down into Egypt, and in mediæval times also. And the spirit says, "When Israel was a child, I called my son out of Egypt." And here still is Egypt for ever transforming itself, like Proteus, into new forms, in continuous succession, as we follow them down the stream of time. The serf was no longer a slave, bought and sold; but he was little better, and despised by the gentleman as an inferior-blooded animal with whom relationship was degrading. A lordship of Christianity was established, an elect and a degraded class, and the former was formed without any reference to merit. But just as the Jews were made the elect by birth, and expected by this relationship to rule over all nations, so these territorial gentry, in like manner, believed and contemptuously maintained the belief of their native superiority, till the burning

mountain of the French Revolution shook the system, and exhibited the signs of its approaching end, by proclaiming, though not realising, the idea of a brotherhood—a glorious idea ! But France preached it sword in hand ! Worthless is the cause that trusteth in steel, and maketh lead its hope ! It will never accomplish its own object ; but another will reap the fruit of its doings.

SCENE EIGHTH.

PETER ON THE ROCK.

Rome is the Rock, the metropolitan Rock, of modern times—the Rock on which the civilisation of the western world is founded, and it centralises the wilderness from which the world is to be delivered. It is an absolute, unyielding principle, as a Rock ought to be—a principle of conservatism, unprogressiveness, and dictation—a High Church and High Tory principle which abhors every innovation which does not originate in itself, or which is calculated to lower its dignity by sharing with a power beneath it its own exclusive prerogatives. It will change, if you suffer it to do so spontaneously, as it did in the Middle Ages. But if you advise it, or attempt to compel it by force, it will act like a mule on the Sierras of Spain, when the traveller, by beating, attempts to quicken its rate of motion, and stand still until you let fall the reins and

give it its own self-determining liberty. Rome loves liberty ; but it is a special liberty of its own, and it loves to give it as a gift, not as a tribute.

The Divine Drama must ever have a Rock in its travels Westward. It began with a Rock, and it preserves its unities. Aaron, the High Priest of the Jews, the Predecessor of the High Priest of Rome, died on a Rock, the Rock of Petra, or Mount Hor. There they stripped him of his garments by command of the Spirit, and put them on his successor, and there he died and was buried. And this Petra is the capital of Edom ; and long before the Papal High Priest had an existence, or men foresaw the possibility of such a power arising in the world, the Jewish Talmud identified this Petra and all the land of Edom with Rome ; the latter deriving its name from Roum, the son of Esau or Edom, from whom the land, of which Petra is the capital, is called Idumea. So say the Rabbis ; not we. And this Idumea represents the Gentile world, and it is translated, like Judea, into a larger meaning ; the two ideas of Esau and Jacob, like Ishmael and Isaac, embracing the world at last as the bipolarities of Law and Gospel.

This Petra was a marvellous city ; the habitations, the streets, the temples, and the tombs being hewn out of the live rock. Many memorials of its greatness and its beauty remain to this day, embellished with elegant Greek and Roman architecture, affording irresistible evidence of a high

degree of civilisation and refinement amongst a people inhabiting one of the most desolate regions on the face of the earth. It was proud of its position, its rocky fastnesses and their strength. But those awful oracles of the Jewish Prophets which foretold the desolation of all the East discovered its weakness, and foretold its humiliation. "Thy terribleness hath deceived thee," says Jeremiah, "and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the Rocks ! that holdest the height of the hill ! though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring you down from thence, saith the Lord. Edom shall be a desolation ; every one that passeth by shall hiss at the plagues thereof." Isaiah is magnificent in his description of Edom, and he translates it into its highest meaning—the Gentiles—the nations. There the High Priest of the first unitary mission died, and there he left his robes to his successor. And who is the successor of the High Priest of the Jews ? The Pontifex Maximus, as the High Priest of the second Petra, the second Sinai, and Horeb the second.* There are only two great High Priests in the *political* History of the Church, Aaron and

* Horeb is merely Hebrew for Desert. The law of Moses was proclaimed from it. It is, therefore, in plain English, the Law of the Desert ; and Hor is merely Hebrew for Mountain ; from which the modern word orology is derived, through the Greek, implying the science of mountains. Sinai is merely a mountain adjoining Horeb, or one of its summits. It is the mountain that flamed

Peter. There is another Great High Priest ; but he is not yet political.

The second political High Priest, who comes from Horeb and Hor to the new Petra, the capital of the Gentiles, builds his habitations and his temples therein. They are all hewn out of the live rock of Gentilism or Edomism. He has carved it, and excavated it, and made it look like a Christian inheritance ; and he prides himself in it as the Petrites of old, and he says, "Who shall bring me down from hence ? I live in the rock—the very rock that has the promise."—"Tu es *Petrus* et super hanc *Petram* ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam."—"Thou art *Petrus*, and on this *Petra* I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."* He does not know that the rock is translatable. But let him enjoy the blessedness of his ignorance, and hew out his palaces, and convert his Pagan gods into Christian saints ; and even build another Temple like Herod the Idumean. So engaged,

whilst the law was revealed from Horeb. The mountains are called the Eternal Hors ; and Rome calls itself the Eternal City, the Eternal Rock, the Eternal Hor.

* These words are inscribed in immense letters around the interior of the dome of St. Peter's ; and, if our memory does not deceive us, the following also, from the 91st Psalm of the Protestant and the 90th Psalm of the Popish Bible :—"Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem."—"Thou shalt walk on the asp and the basiliak, and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon."

he is merely doing for a former institution what another excavator henceforth will do for his.

For soon some trusty brother of the trade
Will do for him what he has done for others.

But what although? He is none the worse for it. Man, the image of God, dies; and then rises from glory to glory in the scale of progression. The individual Christ himself died, and went down into Hades; and why should not the Church, the universal Christ, die and go down into Hades also? It will rise again unscathed and undefeated: "*Et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam*"—"and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." But it must go down to them.

It is worthy of observation that the Idumeans, the men of Petra, became Jews before the time of Christ; and the Romans often called Palestine Idumea. Its inhabitants submitted to the Jewish rite, mixed the blood of the two nations, and kept the Jewish festivals, and even obtained the sovereignty of the Holy Land; for Herod the Great—the Builder of the Temple—was an Idumean; and it was his son, and Pontius Pilate, and the High Priest of Jerusalem, that put Christ to death. Here they are all three together in dramatic preparation, typifying in Jerusalem, on a small and an individual scale, the great event that was about to be realised on a greater scale in the history of Christendom. Those Idumeans had invested themselves with the name and the mission, and rebuilt

the Temple, and applied to themselves the promises, of Israel ; they had identified themselves with the Old Jews ; and the Romans, who were destined to represent the men of Idumea at a future period, and to invest themselves with the name and the mission, and apply to themselves the promises, of the Church, and identify themselves with it, were in combination with the Idumeans at the Christian Epoch and the Crucifixion : and the High Priest of the Jews, who was destined to be superseded by another High Priest of the Gentiles, was, singular to say, at that time double—Annas and Caiaphas ; Caiaphas having been appointed by the Romans to take the precedence of Annas, his predecessor. And thus the whole history of the translation of the East into the West was typically represented in these few incidents, apparently accidental, which took place at the death of Christ ; and Petra afterwards became the capital of one of the Palestines into which Palestine was divided, and the seat of a metropolitan Bishop ; thus becoming a second Jerusalem, as Rome itself. Let any man imagine a better type of the translation of Petra into Rome ; of Idumeans into Romans ; of the Jewish High Priest into the Roman High Priest, by the substitution of Christianity for both Judaism and Romanism, as belonging to the old trilogy of the Drama, if he can. There is nothing wanting to make it complete. Even the double priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, which puzzles historians to account for their respective

relationships and duties, is the finishing stroke of the Master's hand. The time was come ; and the Priesthood was destined to pass to another people, even in the lifetime of the former : and the great future fact was represented in the less or individual fact of the Priesthood passing from one individual to another, in the former's lifetime, at the Christian Epoch.

The Jews were first ruled by Kings, and, after the captivity, chiefly by Priests, till they became Idumeans. The Romans also were ruled by Kings and temporal authorities, and afterwards by Priests ; and now, in the Middle Ages, the reign of the Roman Aaronic Priest begins, and he builds his temple, like Solomon, the Prince of Peace, on the cloven mountain. How is it that the mountain of the temple should be called the cloven mountain ? Mount Moriah is double. It is the mountain of the temple and the mosque, besides being literally a cloven mountain in itself ;* and Rome also is double, and has a bridge that passes through it from the old to the new or modern world. It has a double destiny : its mitre is cloven like the Holy Mountain : it has two classical languages, which no other city has. Is this double character of Rome an accident ? It is the natural character of

* The vaulted substructions of the Haram es-Sherif, or site of the Temple and Mosque, still exist, to show the great precipitous irregularity of the original mount.

the third act of a Drama. We saw it in our Prologues. And of the five mountains on which Jerusalem, the exordium and the miniature type of the whole, is built, the third mountain was the cloven mountain. The third mountain! Why should Moriah be called the third mountain? Because it was the third that was enclosed. These five mountains of Jerusalem tell the history of the Divine Drama. The first was Acra, the old mountain of the original city—the old-clothes city—the ghetto that represents the Jews themselves. When David took it, he enclosed Mount Zion and made it the capital: he was the Constantine of the city: and this represents the second act. When Solomon built the temple, he chose the cloven mountain as a foundation; and this represents the third act. In later times, when the Romans had possession of the city, Bezetha was enclosed, and this was the region of modern fashion, where the rich lived, where the amphitheatre was built, and where apostacy reigned. We shall see, ere long, how nicely this represents the fourth act. And the fifth is Mount Calvary, last enclosed; which finishes the *montal* history of Jerusalem, and represents the great event which brings its preliminary mission to a close. The Pope is merely translating one of these types into its antitype—when he builds his temple on the third mountain of the great Western Drama. “He plants the tabernacle of his palaces between the seas on the glorious holy mountain.” It is a new

Horeb for the Canon Law, with a new Mount Sinai burning beside it.

And what will the Pontifex do on his mountain ? He will smoke and speak fire, like Vesuvius behind him, to the North-western world ; but he will do it in a more spiritual manner : he will tread upon princes as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. Thus will he treat kings, as Gregory VII treated the Emperor, Henry IV. "On the part of Almighty God, and of my full authority, I forbid Henry, the son of Henry, to govern the kingdom of the Teutons and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths they have taken, or shall hereafter take, to him, and all persons are forbidden to render him service as a king." He will magnify himself above all that is esteemed powerful and honourable amongst men ; he will claim the homage of all in authority, the supremacy over all princes, the suzerainty of all kingdoms, and all discovered and undiscovered lands ; the right of disposing of all crowns. He will call himself the king of kings, and the lord of lords ; and he will say, in the pride of his heart, "By me kings reign and princes decree justice. I am, and there is none else ; and besides me there is no Sovereign Ruler amongst men !" Like Innocent III, he will compare himself to the sun, that rules by day in solitary grandeur and unrivalled brilliance ; the temporal powers to the moon and the stars, that rule by night, and have only a dim and a feeble

radiation. He will not only lay claim to all power upon earth, but power in heaven also ; he will hold the keys of both, and when he opens no man must shut, and when he shuts no man must open ; he will forgive sins, and commission others to forgive them ; he will let out souls from purgatory, or keep them in ; he will make a god, and worship it, and make others worship it ; and he will make it of corn and wine, and he will make the world believe that these materials are divine and human also ; human flesh, that is meat indeed, and human blood, that is drink indeed ; and in so doing he will be both right and wrong, for he has a paralogical mission, that entitles him to say great, swelling things, and apparently contradictory things, as obvious and legitimate conclusions from words of admitted authority, developments of germs whose origin is divine. He cannot go wrong ; for, whatever absurdity he utters, it is expedient for a time, and it can be interpreted into a better meaning than he himself perceives. He is infallible, not in truth, but expediency ; and whatever he does, he does by authority, from the inspiration of the cloven mountain and the cloven tongue. And yet the same authority that commissions him to do, will also commission others to oppose and undo ; for Satanism, or conflict in war or in argument, admits of infallibility and sincerity on both sides, but not the fulness of truth on either. They have a truth divided between them, and it is

brought forth entire in the future by the struggle of the two opposing hemispheres.

This paralogical mission of the Roman Bishop is the natural development of a seed sown by the very highest authority. The Great High Priest has disappeared in person, and left his followers to represent him. To one of these he said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and I will give thee the keys of heaven." The Church was built on Peter, who was the first who preached to both Jews and Gentiles, and thus became the leader of the twelve. A flock always has a leader: take it away and they choose another: what can a flock do without it? "Smite the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered." And if they would be gathered again, they must have a gatherer, and who so well adapted for one as the Metropolitan Bishop? What other City in the Empire could occupy its place? Constantinople was only an upstart—a daw dressed in eagle's feathers, not the Roman Eagle itself. The daw might pompously dispute the question of precedence with the eagle, but its claims could not be permanently maintained. The Roman capital alone could triumph in the end; and as Peter took the lead of the twelve Apostles, so the city of the Cæsars must take the lead of the other cities of Gentile Christendom, when the Empire became Christian. Whether therefore St. Peter ever was at Rome, or not, is a matter of no importance whatever. Rome is Peter, as the leader of the flock, not the Galilean

Peter, but the Municipal, Episcopalian, Metropolitan Peter. And London may be Paul, that resists Peter, and rebukes him to his face, because he temporises, and compromises, and acts an illiberal, non-communing part withal. It does not follow, because Peter is a mountain, that Paul is not a plain that stretches before it, and shows finer gardens, and richer lands, and fairer habitations, and a more industrious population, than Peter can boast of. Let Peter be the Rock, and let us take a sketch of him. Rocks are always picturesque. Plains are not, unless they have old castles, and abbeys, and cathedrals on them; and even these are sent by Peter from the rock.

It is a glorious Rock, the rock that Peter sits on. We should like to excavate it, and do for him what he has done for others. Some one will—a collective some one, a series of some ones: it will be done. And what did he do? He made a new out of an old world. That is what he did, and it sounds like a creation at the very commencement. He made all things new. When feudalism had pulverised the municipal Empire, or broken it into boulders—when it had split up society into petty clans and baronies, and filled the world with feuds and murders, he collected those fierce and scattered *theria* or wild beasts, and brought them into subjection to a central authority. He boldly rebuked the men of sin—he feared not the faces of kings—he censured them for their murders—he commanded them to

put away their strange and unlawful wives—he put interdicts upon their kingdoms when they refused, and made them tremble at the power of *a word*. And what is a word? “The Word” is God, and by “The Word” he creates the worlds. There is no greater creator, and there is no greater evidence of power than this ruling by a word. And he who sat on the Rock of the Middle Ages, used it as never man used it before. He re-created a world with it; for he alone used the word, other men used the sword; and his breath had the supremacy over their steel, enough at least to give it precedence among the powers that were. It is a glorious realisation of spirit power, feeble and inconclusive as it is, the sight of that old and shaven monk; that hermit from the cell; that recluse from the cloister; that eater of dry bread and drinker of water; that wearer of sackcloth, or coarse flannel, except when engaged in the ministrations of the sanctuary; that pen-holder and sword-abhorrer; trusting in God and in the mission of his order; boldly defying the power of the sword; fearless of death; even coveting martyrdom for the glory that should follow it; and fearing only, like the patriarch Job, “to give flattering words to any man, lest in so doing his maker should soon take him away.” We know nothing more sublime in the whole history of society. It is the first realisation of the promise to the soul; the earnest of that ultimate victory over physical force which will at length be obtained by the word made flesh—the

word incarnated in man himself. But the time is not yet. We have only the types of the future in the Middle Ages, and all types are by nature imperfect; for, if otherwise, the antitype would be unnecessary. The type of future conquest was realised by the Pope in the Middle Ages only in the feudal degree. It was the age of dispersion or feudalism; and he was great amongst petty princes or nobles—great amongst kings, who were merely nominally kings, and kept in fetters by their untameable, proud and indomitable barons; amongst Emperors, who were merely chosen by suffrage, only nominal superiors of princes, whom they feared. Amongst such ruptured elements of political power he was a central Rock whose principle was immutable, whose position was secure, whose ministers were faithful, for they felt him to be stronger than the forces around him, and whose army of clergy and monks was a standing army ever in discipline; but no sooner did these feudal baronies combine into kingdoms and form greater powers with central authorities of their own, and permanent forces and standing armies of steel and powder men, than he found his *word* to be feeble in degree, and incapable of rivalling the physical force of a national sword. This notified his end and the coming Era of nationalism. He still thinks himself entitled to use the power of the word with nations, but it has no effect. And whose fault is that? Power always tells as far as it is commissioned. His rock

is only the rock of Mediterranean Catholicity. It must have a successor: another Hor, another Horeb, another Sinai, another Petra is in the future, and it will do with the national what the Mediæval and Mediterranean Mountain did with the feudal system. It will be an Arbiter of Peace, and maintain the real peace of the world by causing the nations to sheathe the sword, and convert it into a ploughshare or a pruning-hook. A greater word than his must come, and as a herald of its coming, a monk of one of his own regiments, a shaven monk from the old German foes of the empire, will in due time subvert the half of his spiritual authority by wielding a word that will rival his own. And that monk will only half succeed; for he has not the key, the one key of David: he has only cross-keys like the Pope himself: and to prevent a total discomfiture of his word, he will be compelled to case himself in steel armour and hang a bloodthirsty sword by his side, and establish his doctrine of the Reformation by metallic agency. Even his is not final, for it is an old book and not a new, living word that he wields; but still it is enough to shake the living word of the middle ages, and show the power of doctrine and reveal the possibility of a still greater word, completing the series which thus travels majestically onward from the orient of the old world to the setting of the sun. Even now we see symptoms of the infant growth of an arbitrating word, in our Peace Societies, our proposed National

Congresses for settling national disputes without the sword; and though men have as yet but a feeble idea of the power that is wanted, they feel the want, and foresee in their own feelings the advent of the Spirit and the Reign of Peace in the principle of Arbitration. We shall not dispute the nature of it here; nor does it matter at present what opinion a man may entertain of it; neither our arguments nor his can alter the plan of destiny; nor will our petty schemes avail to divert its course; for even

Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall; and that should teach us
There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them as we will.

The Pope was great over feudal kings and barons, because either they or their people believed in his mission and felt his magic influence. They believed in his vicarship as the representative of God. They believed in his blessing and in his curse. And if he commanded his clergy to refuse to baptise, to marry, or to bury, he rendered a whole people miserable at once. And their king trembled and submitted. Such a power was divine, so far as it was manifested, and it was only exhibited rarely in order as it were to show what the Word can accomplish when it comes in its fulness with all power. Nor is it dangerous, as many suppose. On the contrary, it is the hope of the world when the reconciliation takes place between Law and Liberty,

for such a divine moral power of peaceful sovereignty cannot dwell with evil. It dies in such an atmosphere or goes away. It is impossible for vice or falsehood to make use of it. It lives by its character only. It is, though almighty in its purity, so sensitive a plant that even a breath of scandal will weaken it, and a moral apostacy reduce it to infirmity, like Samson in the arms of luxury. They who talk of danger, therefore, in the exercise of such a power, talk of the danger of truth, the danger of moral beauty, the danger of temperance, charity, and all the virtues, and reason like men who have not yet grown up into mature understanding. Would to God we had a WORD that would settle the controversies of nations without the sword, and put an end to the wars and massacres of nationalism for ever! It is, in fact, what all men desire, and yet it is the promise to the Church, and in whatever manner it may be fulfilled at last, the principle for ever must remain the same. The Jews express their idea and their hope of this peaceful termination of mundane strife, in the simple form of the reign of a Messiah, a powerful conqueror, a just judge, and an enlightened counsellor. The Peace Society express their idea of it in the more abstract form of a recognised principle of truth and justice, which will be a practical and permanent, never-dying substitute for an individual person. The Pope of Rome, and his supporters, believe that this person and this principle are both united in the

Roman Bishop, and would realise the reign of Peace if the world would submit to it—if, only if. But a real conqueror has no *ifs* in his vocabulary. The Grand Turk would make us all Mahometans, if we would permit him. He who has the mission has the power ; and the extent of his commission is measured by success. But whatever the difference of opinion may be in respect to this, the idea of the ultimate mission is invariably the same in principle, the acknowledgment of a power whose supreme influence supersedes the mission of the sword and entirely dispenses with that abhorred instrument of clans and nations, or sects and parties, the instrument, in fine, of divisional and rival authorities—an instrument which has corrupted the old Rock of Peter, but which its successor will discard. The very oldest idea of a supreme and peaceful sovereign, as expressed by the Prophets of Israel, still sounds in the ears of the nineteenth century like the richest poetry from the top of the mountain of song ; and the following paraphrase from the Prophet Isaiah, which is sung in churches and chapels to-day, can boast of an antiquity of three thousand years, and yet it still exceeds in grandeur and beauty all the classical and philosophical odes and *carmena* of Greek and Roman, or the sentimental flowerpots of modern, poetry ; and it expresses in Jewish language the common feeling of all mankind, the hope of the Jew and the Christian, the Peace Society, the Republican and the Revolutionist ; for, by merely

translating the King into a Ruling principle of Peace, the Republican embraces, with heart and soul, every word that the prophet utters. But that which is practical alone will succeed, and the end will demonstrate whether the religious absolute principle, or the commercial motive of interest, or the moral motive of respectability and honour, is the most efficient means of moral government, or whether all are not indispensable to complete the machinery of a well regulated society.

It is a Jewish Prophet Bard that sings :—

Behold, the mountain of the Lord
In latter days shall rise
On mountain tops, above the hills,
And draw the wondering eyes !
To this the joyful nations round,
All tribes and tongues, shall flow ;
“ Up to the hill of God,” they’ll say,
“ And to his house we’ll go.”
The beam that shines from Sion hill
Shall lighten every land ;
The King who reigns on Salem’s towers
Shall all the world command.
Among the nations he shall judge,
His judgments truth shall guide ;
His sceptre shall protect the just,
And quell the sinner’s pride.
No strife shall rage, nor hostile feud
Disturb those peaceful years ;
To ploughshares men shall beat their swords,
To pruning-hooks their spears.
No longer hosts encountering hosts
Shall crowds of slain deplore ;
They hang the trumpet in the hall
And study war no more.

This is what the Pope of Rome attempted. He tried to be this king on Salem's towers, and to raise his mountain on the tops of all the mountains—and he did well to try it ; and when he was pure and sincere—when he boldly rebuked the guilty, and made no compromise with them either for money or for temporal power—his word was heard with fear and submission, his arbitration was conclusive ; but when he became sensual, and false, and treacherous, and conspired with temporal princes for temporal, unlawful, and immoral ends, he became cruel as a tyrant, and weak as another man. But what he attempted amongst the unformed nations of mediæval times must yet be done ; and Christians believe that it will be done, or why do they sing that song, or profess to believe the words of which it is a paraphrase ? The Drama advances with geometrical progression, and a ratio of moral and spiritual authority corresponding to its geographical increase : the next Rock will be greater than its predecessors.

The logical eccentricities of Peter on the Rock, in the Middle Ages, are merely paralogical mystifications of splendid truths. The Grand Fetich of the Church, and the Transubstantiation by which it is maintained, is the analogue of a doctrine which reconciles the highest reason and the highest faith. The schoolmen of the Middle Ages could show, and that most conclusively, that God being omnipresent the whole of the Divine attributes must be in

every portion of space at once. Every chemist believes the same in respect to sea-water, or air, or any other element : when he analyses a drop of it he finds the whole. In like manner the entire Deity is in the bread. He was in it before it was consecrated, but he is especially in it to faith when the rite is performed ; and as the flesh and blood of Christ, when translated into their anagogue or highest meaning, are the principles of Divine life in which we all live and move and have our being, it is only by eating this flesh and drinking this blood of the Divine and human nature that we exist. There is no other mode of living : the very lowest life that we have is only a degree of the graduated scale of the eternal and infinite Divine humanity life,* and it is by religion that we rise in the scale and become conscious of that of which the child or the fool is ignorant. The Protestant is equally foolish with the Romanist, when he believes that it is the material blood that saves the world from sin ; whereas it is the living blood that does it. The material blood is dead and dried up on Calvary long ago : the blood that saves is a blood that circulates for ever within ourselves, and when once it is shed on Calvary's Hill, it will put an end to war, "and bring in everlasting righteous-

* Humanity is one of the Divine attributes. It is the Divine principle of Reason—the Logos, or logical attribute. It is feminine in relation to the Divine.

ness and anoint the Most Holy." Till then sin will reign as ever, for material blood can make no more impression under the Gospel than under the Law," for men cannot "wash their robes and make them white in it," even though translated from lower animal into human blood. But when the translation rises from the material to the spiritual, and the living blood is poured out on Calvary (which is Golgotha, the place of a skull, or the human head), then life will be felt that was never felt before, and a new and living meaning will be given to the letter that killeth, and that saveth not the world from war and from strife.

And Peter on the Rock made new gods, and canonised them, and he worshipped the *Mahuzzim*, the little rocks or fortresses, the tutelary saints, and he distributed them amongst the cities, and most of the cities took one or more of them, and Peter became an idolator, and he worshipped the gods of his own making, and he made them the rulers of nations, the guardian spirits of cities, and he united them with God in the government of the world. Even this is a prophecy of what is to be; for what Christian is there who does not believe that men are destined to reign on the Earth, as partakers of the Divine Nature? It was faith that made Peter do this, and paralogical reason that proved it to be realised in the canonisation and worship of the Saints. He even showed great modesty and timidity in this work of saint elevation, for he might well have in-

vested the canonised with the Divine Nature, but he contented himself with the human. The Scriptures assure us that we are to be made partakers of the Divine, when we are adopted as Children of the Highest. Why then did Peter not make the Saints gods by name ? Because he was inspired to do so ; and it is beautifully illustrative of that glorious doctrine, that the world is to be governed by the Divine Humanity, Divinity being represented by the One or the Absolute, and humanity by the Many. It is an eternal truth. But though he did not give them a divine name, he gave them a divine mission and character, for he prayed to them—prayed for their assistance in governing the church, prayed for their healing power in behalf of the afflicted, and believed he had received it, and perhaps he did, when it went well with his cause. And who can seat himself on the judicial bench, and judge Peter for so doing ? Not the Protestant man who gives himself up to covetousness and money-making ; for that also is idolatry, and perhaps the worst and most corrupting species of it, for we know nothing more calculated to divest a man of all spirituality, all religious feeling, all interest in subjects of an elevated nature, than that commercial passion for accumulating wealth, which distinguishes the Protestant nations in a most especial manner. Many are not even elevated enough to worship a statue. We respect the man whose faith entrances him in a mental absorption before a fetich,

a bone, a rag, a nail of the cross, or a coat without seam, in preference to him who scoffs and sneers at every religious or unitary idea, every devotional or poetical feeling, and is totally absorbed from dawn till sunset, in animal gratification, and feeding the senses, by adding pound to pound and capital to capital, as if the gold were a thing that could save him from death, or from fear of the undiscovered world when the last enemy approached. Every worshipper of an image looks beyond the image for a spiritual power ; he is a spiritual being ; but the worshipper of gold looks no farther than the metal, or the metal's worth. There is far more hope of an idolator of statues than of an idolator of sovereigns and dollars. And there is hope of Peter ; for he has proved his sincerity, he has sacrificed much to faith, and conscientiously refused to compromise his principles, in times of trouble ; for, though many Popes have been the basest of men, the balance has been put in *equilibrio* by others who will stand comparison with the brightest names in the pages of history.

And Peter made eunuchs of all his clergy, and forbade them to marry. But he did it for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, to detach them from the world. In doing so he made them what St. Paul recommended them to be, and what the Apostle was himself ; what Christ also was, reserving the time of the Bride and her coming for the end. In this manner he came out of the generation into

the regeneration. But his mission was the Regeneration—the regeneration of an old into a new world; and by regeneration he accomplished his end; for he sanctified the woman as well as the man to the Lord, and bound them by vow to devote themselves exclusively to the spiritual cause, mortifying the flesh with its affections and lusts. If he reasoned paralogically on Scripture in this, he still reasoned; and his mission was paralogical: he could not make it otherwise. We owe the rapid restoration, or rather formation, of society in the West, to the celibacy of the clergy. But that does not prevent the Spirit of Prophecy from characterising the land of the Male Priesthood as the Great City of Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord is crucified. Woman must be called to the same, or correlative, honours as man, or the analogies of Nature are violated. But all comes in due order. Man was first created; but creation was not finished till woman was with him. He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom; and who shall say who is the Bridegroom till the Bride be seen with him? He has not come yet. He only cometh. Till she comes, the Word is crucified in that Great City of Sodom and Egypt, in ways innumerable. Romanists crucify it daily in the mass, and profess to do so. Protestants do it without knowing it, by banishing that portion of the sacred volume which represents in a special manner the Divine Humanity—the books of the second period of Jewish

history. They do it, both of them, in woman's own nature, by its desecration ; and it is characteristic of the first four acts of the New Drama throughout, that they sternly refuse the admission of woman into the Sanctuary as a Priestess. But they cannot help it : they act by destiny. He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom, and every other is merely his forerunner. Now, do not let the reader suppose that we want to ordain clergywomen, or presbyteresses, or consecrate bishopesses. We have no such thoughts : we have no scheme, no system, no plan : we are merely reasoning on the Word. God's own plan alone can prosper. We abhor every other. But no just or absolute reason can be given why there should be His Holiness and His Reverence, and not Her Holiness and Her Reverence, or why an Archbishop should be an Archduke and His Grace, and his wife not Her Grace, but merely a Mistress. Such things are expedient for a time, but not for permanent and abiding institutions. Man must either fall to equality with woman, or woman rise to equality with man. But Wisdom is justified of all her children, and men are all justified when they act by faith, whatever may be the name by which their deeds are designated, or the anomalies by which they are distinguished under the pressure of necessity.

Peter also commanded men to abstain from meats ; but who are they who can with justice condemn him ? Not they who eat salt fish on Ash

Wednesday, cross buns on Good Friday, and pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, and who eat blood and things strangled, and do other things forbidden by a higher authority. It is a small matter, perhaps, compared to the Roman dietary. But he who is faithless in little is faithless also in much, and laughs at the old so soon as the new rule is established by use and wont; and he who breaketh a part of the commandment is guilty of all. Peter also divided the year amongst the saints; and instead of observing no holidays, he made every day a holiday. But we have made some days holidays, and not others; and we have even accepted a national saint from the Pope, and put Gregory the Great, the founder of the Papacy, in our calendar. George of Cappadocia, an Arian bishop, is our *Mahuz*, or national saint—a saint who, according to Gibbon, was a swindler in trade, who supplied the army with bacon by contract, and who, as a professor of Arianism, supplanted Athanasius, and made use of his episcopal authority to monopolise the sale of divers articles; for which he was detested by the people and at last martyred. A singular guardian saint for a commercial nation! But then he killed the dragon! How he did it we cannot tell; for the dragon is alive, and George of Cappadocia is dead. It rather appears as if the dragon had killed St. George. But the fable is a prophecy. George means a husbandman; and when the swords are converted into ploughshares, and the

spears into pruning-hooks, the Dragon will be dead and the husbandman alive. And when the Roman great Calendar is reformed, the English little Calendar will be regenerated.

For these and many such like sins the Pope of Rome has been called the Antichrist: and, no doubt, he is the Antichrist, and so are you. For, if you only graduate the scale of Antichrist, and put the Pope at the head of the list—1st degree, the Pope; 2nd degree, the Bishop; 3rd degree, the Priest; 4th degree, the Deacon; 5th degree, the Churchwarden, &c.; you will find a place for yourself also, as a pew-holder, or free-seat visitor, or stander in the passage; and even if you do not attend Church or Chapel at all, the scale is long enough to reach you at home, in the club, the gin-shop, or the fields. It is a large idea that of Antichrist; for, if the Christ be the Prince of Peace, and the Spirit of Charity, then all who break the peace by strife and selfishness, by bigotry and intolerance, by scandal and misrepresentation either of deeds or doctrines, are members of the great Antichristian body of greater or lesser magnitude, honour or dishonour; and it is for the destruction of this collective body of strife and war that the Peace-bringer is commissioned to visit the chaos, and restore its agitated elements to order. Every man is Antichrist before he is Christ; and he may see the ten horns of the upper beast in his body if he holds out his hands, and of the lower beast if he

holds out his feet ; and he may see the seven heads in his seven senses—two of them double—five and two, as in Scripture divided. He may see everything in himself, for he himself is the image of God, and all nature is formed after the Divine likeness, the Eternal ideas in the Divine mind. There is always an aspect in which every man is an Antichrist. The Jew is an Antichrist, because he rejects the first advent ; the Pope, because he rejects the second, and believes Popery to be final and all-sufficient. The Infidel is an Antichrist, because he rejects them both ; and the Believer in both is an Antichrist, because he has faith without charity, and that is only a tinkling cymbal. The sectarian of every description is an Antichrist, because he is one “*qui solvit Christum*”—who dissolves Christ. Every man may see his own likeness in the great collective body of the Beast. But a great swelling power that boldly, honestly, and nominally proclaims itself to be Antichrist, has not yet come ; and we have no reason to believe that the mission of Antichrist is not both bold and honest : for it is one of the very greatest missions in the Divine Drama, and such a mission could never be given by Providence to one who is unconscious of having it.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Pope is at the head of the scale at present, as the chief representative of the absolutism of Horeb or the Desert, and of Hor, the mountain in whose rocky sides the Petra is cut, of which the Saviour said—

“Super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam”—
“On this Petra will I build my Church.” And that Petra is the capital of Edom, the land of the curse. It includes all Gentile Christendom—all feudalism—all nationalism—all divisionalism ; and the most tremendous curse in the Scriptures is uttered against it. But mercy translates this curse into blessing ; and you see them gradually, like dissolving views, melting the one into the other. It is the most beautiful piece of dissolving literature perhaps in existence. We know nothing comparable to it ; and as we believe the reader has not perceived it, though all written in The Book, we shall quote the whole passage, though long, to present it before him, as it is fraught with instruction of the deepest interest. We shall only remark, that it has had already three distinct fulfilments, and awaits a fourth or final. The first was, in many respects, literal and geographical, converting Idumea to a desert ; the second was analogical, when Idumea, as we have already shown, became the Political Empire, and was desolated by barbarians ; the third, when it was the Spiritual Empire, and desolated by Protestants ; the fourth is final, and is yet to come. The reader will perceive, at the commencement, that it refers to all nations, though they are called Idumea, and that whatever private or sectarian opinion may be entertained of its meaning, it refers to a great

mundane crisis, when the East will be restored and the Jews reinstated, and all nations politically regenerated.—Isaiah, 34 and 35.

“Come near, ye nations, to hear, and hearken, ye people ; let the earth hear and all that is therein, the world and all things that come forth from it. For the indignation of the Lord is upon all nations, and his fury upon all their armies ; he hath utterly destroyed them, he hath delivered them to the slaughter. Their slain also shall be cast out, and their stink shall come up out of their carcasses and the mountains shall be melted with their blood. And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll ; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine and as a falling fig from the fig-tree. For my sword shall be bathed in Heaven ; behold it shall come down upon Idumea and upon the people of my curse to judgment. The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams ; for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah and a great slaughter in the land of Idumea. And the unicorns shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls ; and their land shall be soaked with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness. For it is the day of the Lord’s vengeance, the year of recompenses for the controversies of Zion. And the streams thereof

shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched day nor night, the smoke thereof shall go up for ever, from generation to generation it shall lie waste, none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it, the owl and the raven shall dwell in it. And he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, and it shall be an habitation for dragons and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert also shall meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow ; the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow ; there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the Lord and read : Not one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate, for my mouth it hath commanded, and his Spirit it hath gathered them. And he hath cast the lot for them and his hand hath divided it unto them by line : they shall possess it for ever and ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad

for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly and rejoice with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God. Strengthen ye the weak hands and confirm the feeble knees. Say unto them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not. Behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense; he will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water; in the habitation of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass, with reeds and rushes. And a highway shall be there and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness: the unclean shall not pass over it, but it shall be for those; the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon; it shall not be found there, but the Redeemed shall walk there. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

A dissolving view by a Divine Artist! A curse

melting into a blessing, though Cardinal Hugh has endeavoured to conceal it by a caputular division not in the original.* You see the very process of Mercy translating the letter of Judgment, the gradual ascension of meaning, from the lowest material to the highest poetical and spiritual sense ; Judgment all the while disguising itself in the language of hyperbole and mystery—that seeing men may not see, and hearing they may not understand—and Mercy gently putting aside the mask, and revealing the smile of the darling attribute of Divinity. She is the Translator of the Book, and she will make it all plain when she publishes her own Edition, which is the fifth. The first is the Hebrew, the second is the Greek, the third is the Latin, the fourth is the Vernacular Modern Edition, the fifth is the Universal—Mercy’s Edition. All men will read this. The others they cannot understand. For these Editions will tell you that the owls and the cormorants, and the ravens and other wild creatures are to live amid the burning pitch and brimstone of Idumea, and lay, and hatch, and rejoice amid the flame and smoke of the yellow sulphur, and that this desirable habitation is allotted to them for ever ! But they do not tell you who those owls and ravens and wild animals are, nor what brimstone is ; for they cannot translate the language of judg-

* It was Cardinal Hugo who divided the Bible into its present chapters, in the thirteenth century.

ment into the language of mercy. Nor can they tell you how these owls and ravens are to see the glory of the Lord in this wretched and frightful wilderness, which, notwithstanding its burning and smoking pitch and brimstone for ever, is for ever to rejoice and blossom as the rose!! Is it the yellow sulphur of chemistry that is meant? No; it is compared to the breath of the Lord, and that is life and vigorous activity. The breath of the Lord is "like a stream of brimstone," which burns up all evil and makes a wilderness of it, and converts the ferocious creatures (men of war, Quakers included) that inhabit it, into tame and gentle and happy beings. It will not touch any good thing, for evil alone is combustible. Evil is the eternal fuel, the black and earth-begotten coal of the Eternal Fire which is the Life of the Universe, and which feeds on that fuel for ever and ever. The fire of Good could not burn without the fuel of Evil. There is always another step in progress to be made after every advancement, and that step is the burning of more fuel. There is no stagnation, for stagnation is death, in which the fire goes out. The fire of Divine life is directed against every imperfection; and in the creature there is imperfection for ever, for it never can attain to equality with the Highest. It burns, therefore, for ever; like a seraph it burns; and while it burns "it glorifies the Lord in the fire," for all God's works must praise him.

Say, therefore, to them that are of a fearful

heart, "Be strong, fear not!" and let Peter sit upon his rock in confidence to the end; for the sword that destroys his spiritual empire is not the steel sword of the Barbarians over again, nor the doctrinal sword of the Protestants over again, which was forced to accept assistance from steel and lead, from the horse and his rider. But the sword that destroys the present Roman Edom is the sword of the translated Word, that destroys the old evil and makes all things new; not excepting the Desert itself. The translated Word is sharper and more powerful than steel, and will not ask its assistance: it is itself sufficient.

Peter's mission still continues after the middle ages; but it loses a portion of its catholicity, not by subtracting anything from its own spiritual or absolute nature, but by the approach of another mission of a more free, intellectual, divisional, and individual character—a mission also of nationality and sectarianism, which weakens the influence of the spiritual Word of Rome, and introduces a larger and more powerful species of feudalism, both political and ecclesiastical, which requires a stronger Word in the end to subvert it, or unite its ruptured and separated parts. We shall see the working of that national or enlarged feudal system in the Fourth Act of the Drama.

SCENE NINTH.

THE MEN OF LITERATURE AND LEARNING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

When the Papacy began, in the sixth and seventh centuries, to lay the foundation of the Spiritual Empire, it piously rejected assistance from any of the remnants of the old institutions. It transformed them, but destroyed their character, their spirit, and their very name ; and the learning of the ancients was not less objectionable than was their Theology. Gregory the Great was therefore not only an enemy to grammar and all the elegances of speech, he not only despised cases and numbers and genders, but he despised even libraries themselves, and ordered, according to general belief, the famous collection of books belonging to the Roman Emperors in the Palatine Library to be burnt, for a similar reason which prompted Omar, the Saracen, a few years afterwards, to commit the Alexandrian Library to the flames. But it was with the old Empire as it was with Jerusalem, and as if the Prophetic Spirit of the Jewish Economy had repeated on the occasion the words that apply to the Holy City:—"Go ye up on her walls and destroy, but make not a full end." Leave a seed for a future harvest. That seed was left, but not amongst the monks, for they were then only coming into existence ; and like the Pontiff himself, con-

temptuous of learning, they prided themselves, like St. Benedict, their founder, in "ignorant knowledge and wise ignorance." Their learning grew with the times, and their arts with prosperity, and also with corruption.

The old world being almost annihilated, the new world began, as all intellectual childhood begins, with fables and tradition—as Heathenism itself—or the world began in the Primitive Ages. It was a new birth and a new infancy, a new civilisation, and the Church was the mother and the nurse of the babe. Like a wise and prudent mother in this capacity, it devoted itself enthusiastically to baby literature, nursery tales, and fables; called philosophers naughty, and mathematics bad for health and morals; and classed mathematicians with sorcerers and necromancers. However, it cultivated the art of music most devotedly, as mothers naturally do; and the very same Pontiff who burnt the Palatine Library, and reproved the schoolmasters for teaching grammar, was the man who invented the Gregorian Chant, which is to this day the foundation of all that is grand and elevated in sacred music. He also established a school for chanters in Rome, which flourished for three hundred years. It was the Age of Orpheus and Musæus restored. Music belongs to the infancy of nations.

Along with music the cultivation of fabulous literature proceeded apace; and Bishops and such

learned men as the age contained, devoted themselves to the sacred office of collecting traditions of the miracles of the Saints, which were at that time abundant and rapidly increasing. Collections were diligently made of these traditions, and lives of Saints were compiled in incredible numbers. The *Recueil des Bollandistes*, a collection of these lives, by Bolland, a Jesuit, and his successors, consists of fifty-three folio volumes, and more than 25,000 lives of Confessors and Martyrs, Ascetics and Self-tormentors. All these, no doubt, were workers of miracles; and a general idea may be given of their nature, from Father Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick. We shall give the headings of a few of the 146 chapters. "The Saint confers beauty on an ugly man, and increases his stature"—"14,000 men miraculously fed"—"flesh meat changed into fishes."—"The tooth of St. Patrick shone in the river."—"Certain cheeses converted into stones."—"Euchodius is cursed by the Saint, and his son blessed."—"St. Patrick's goat, stolen and eaten by a thief, bleateth in the thief's stomach."—"A tyrant transformed by the Saint into a fox."—"A stone is changed into milk, and milk into stones." Such was the nature of the popular literature which exercised the industry and commanded the faith of pious, devout, and self-sacrificing men, as well as their simple and ignorant disciples, for several hundred years. But it was not unaccompanied by the most admirable specimens of eloquence, pulpit and literary,

the true poetry of nature, pathetic appeals to the feelings, and powerful addresses to the conscience, which, without any pretensions to classical elegance or knowledge of rhetorical art, were infinitely better adapted for the purpose of pulpit oratory and popular persuasion than those cold, undevotional, *classical* modern discourses which too often suggest the idea of an institution that has lost its youth. Nor must we suppose that because those ages are generally known by the name of the Dark Ages, that therefore the people were either stupid or ignorant. It is modern pride and scientific arrogance that thus revile them. They were distinguished by qualities of a very high, reverential and spiritual character, and showed remarkable talent in the development of all those intellectual arts which especially belonged to their own times. Their Theology and Philosophy, generally characterised amongst the moderns by the epithet Scholastic, exhibited evidences of great intellectual activity and sublime genius; and the subjects to which they attached so much importance, though ridiculed by the moderns, reveal the possession of deep and genuine faith in Scripture and in the Mission of the Church. Indeed it was just in the Middle Ages of the Church that faith, and even Scriptural authority, seem to have been at their height. The Bible exceeded every other authority except the canonical law; but so long as a writer kept within the boundary of ecclesiastical discipline, he found his strongest ar-

guments derived from the Scriptures, with which, and the logical forms of Aristotle, he endeavoured to prove all things. Do modern Christian and Protestant divines believe the Scriptures more deeply or more sincerely than Gregory the Great, or Gregory VII, or even Innocent III? We doubt it. Or do they read them more frequently and study them more earnestly than Thomas Aquinas, or Lanfranc, or Anselm, St. Bernard, Peter Lombard, or Peter the Venerable? No. Those were the ages of living faith, when the minds of men were exclusively exercised upon Scriptural ideas, and when it was rather the excess of faith than the deficiency of it, that led them into paralogical excesses; their faith not being purified by charity, and not being translated from its vulgar or limited, into its higher and more comprehensive, meaning; and the very strength of this faith, and their activity in exercising it, were the direct means of introducing the more logical and less exalted style of the succeeding era, which came down from heaven to earth with that metaphysical and controversial acuteness which it owes to the schoolmen of the middle ages.

These men wrangled and debated upon what we call trifles, because we are unwise, and do not know that to this very wrangling and debating we owe that very acuteness in which we pride ourselves. They made use of such materials of thought as they possessed, and they used them vigorously; and men collected in thousands to hear a discussion

about angels and devils, or the delicate question to handle, whether in the resurrection the body rises with its present interiors, and if so, what is their function in redemption ; and why the Messiah, being the Saviour of both sexes, was not hermaphrodite ; or why there is not a female as well as a male Messiah—a question which shows more real theological genius and free Scriptural inquiry, than can be found in the present century ; for, though it be a vital question—one without the solution of which the problems of the Church can never be solved—it is not even so much as raised amongst Protestant divines, who have sunk down into philologists or biblical critics, and sought the truth in grammatical and vocabular learning, where it never will be found. Had Adam a navel ? Is that which was taken from the body of Christ in the Jewish rite, eaten in the Eucharist ? If a dog, a pig, or a mouse eat the consecrated host, does it eat the body of Christ ? &c. Such questions all prepared the minds of men for something else. They constituted part of the Journey of Civilisation, they are the scenery by the way which entertain the traveller ; and he is the most enlightened traveller who thinks, and reasons, and talks as he proceeds, and exercises his mind with such materials of thought as pass in review before him. Of Thomas Aquinas' great work, the "Summary of all Theology," there are 168 chapters on Love, 358 on Angels, 200 on the Soul, 85 on Demons, 151 on the Intellect, 134 on

the Law of God, 3 on the Catamenia, 237 on Sins, and 18 on Virginity, &c. ; and he proves that many angels cannot be at once in the same portion of space ; that God and the human soul are not contained in space, but contain it ; and that the motion of an angel in space (though he never is in space) is nothing more than different contacts of different successive places, &c. Such philosophy, perhaps, cannot now be read ; but it was full of mental vigour and faith, as cultivated by the schoolmen in their little mediterranean world, which to them was the universe. Into morals they also entered freely, and discussed the questions of property and its rights, and whether it was absolute or only relative property, and whether a thief in stealing stole the absolute or the relative property ; and, therefore, whether he was absolutely a thief, or absolutely not a thief. The acumen displayed in these nice distinctions is not exceeded by any in the present times ; but it is not suited for our times. It has fulfilled its office and left its successor behind it, trained and disciplined in one sphere of acuteness to qualify him for another. One age is only great because its predecessor has transmitted the gift of greatness to it. One era owes to its predecessor what a man owes to his mother, and no great man will be ready to own that he had a worthless mother ; why then should an era be so unwise and so unnatural as to make such an acknowledgment ? The more we abuse our predecessors, the

more we lower ourselves, though we intend the contrary. There are numerous aspects in which it will be found that even the present intellectual has degenerated from that of the middle age. How many thousands of the most respectable and influential of the men of London have not even excitement sufficient to read anything but a newspaper, the gossip of the day! and what special intellectuality or spirituality can be found in their daily avocations, their minds entirely engrossed with the difficulties of business and the rivalries of trade, scarcely ever seeing their children, except on a Sunday, and then disposed for nothing more than a longer spell than usual at the favourite gossip? The Middle Ages were simpler—more spiritual—more imaginative—more childish—more scientifically and practically ignorant; but they were neither less talented, less vigorous, nor less happy than the age we live in. We may be the manhood, perhaps the old age, of that youth. But the man who has abused his youth has little to boast of. We do not believe that humanity has done so. The individual may be a fool, but the universal is not.

The historians, too, of the Middle Ages are really the sacred historians of Christendom. They write as the Jewish historians wrote—as Herodotus and Thucydides wrote. They see the hand of God in everything. However wildly and foolishly they may seem to do this, they are evidently more reli-

gious in spirit than is a modern historian, vulgarly called classical, chiefly because of his want of religion. They believe in Divine arrangement in mundane government, even more than do the modern Evangelicals, who deplore their ignorance and Spiritual darkness. They believe also in continuous revelation by voice and vision, and record innumerable instances of each; such as the awful visions of Purgatory by the Emperor Charles le Gros, by the Monk of Evesham, Owen the Knight, and other "certain men," "faithful and true." All these are recorded in Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, a Monk of St. Alban's, in the reign of King John. These visions are exceedingly curious; and it was evidently from such visions as they are (for the Mediæval Chronicles are full of them) that Dante procured the materials for his "*Divina Commedia*;" nor does it appear that he has even improved upon them, though he has monopolised the honour of transmitting them to posterity in verse: whilst the chroniclers and the visionaries who supplied him with the ideas, and were his inspiring Apollos and Muses, are supposed by the present self-laudatory generation of men, to be even unworthy of a name in the pages of Classical History. It was the wild and the monstrous re-appearing in the infancy of a new civilisation. It began prologically by vision and trance to simple-minded, faithful, and spiritual men. It was accepted logically by such men as Dante, and converted into

Classical Literature, as Homer and Virgil transmuted the visions of the ancients into "The Descent into Hell of Ulysses and Æneas;" and it was transformed into sorcery, demonology, and enchantment in the Romances of Provence or the Troubadour Literature, and the poetical schools of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Spenser in later times; and the process is precisely analogous to that of the ancient generation of literature in Greece, with this distinction: that the modern regeneration is characterised by more spiritual life and activity, more vividness, and wildness, and richness of fancy, indicating thereby a stronger mental constitution, and the promise of a reign of longer duration and far greater brilliance.

Yet all this brilliancy of imagination, all this mental activity, was compatible with what we nineteenth centurians denominate gross ignorance. In the eighth century few of the clergy of England could translate Latin into English. King Alfred says, in an extant letter of his to Wulfugius, that when he began to reign in England, there was not one Priest south of the Thames that could, and few south of the Humber. In the north, the Presbyterian, or at least equalising Culdees of Scotland, the borders, and Ireland, were esteemed for their learning, and often required to study eighteen years before ordination. But in an age when King Alfred himself gave nine hundred acres of land for one book on Cosmography, and a Countess of Anjou two

hundred sheep for a book of homilies, we must not ascribe the literary ignorance of the clergy to want of will so much as to want of power. Let us be just and give such men credit for what they did with so few opportunities, and for the much they did with their little, compared with what we accomplish with our much. Their works are marvellous, and had it not been for their faith, their zeal, their monastic institutions and corporate unity, we might have been still a race of painted Britons and illiterate savages. The extraordinary virtue of the hundreds will counterweigh the vices, the idleness, the fatness and the laziness of the thousands. Diamonds are always rarer than pebbles, and the nation that brings forth a hundred great men is a great nation. How many men of genius can the Augustan age boast of ? and how many scoundrels and illiterate sensualists and vagabonds lived in it ? It is chiefly because it produced Horace and Virgil that we praise it ; and they are chiefly remarkable for their elegant phraseology ; they had not the spirit that could have rescued a people from barbarism ; they were men of ease, the soft-living protégés of great men, and the age that succeeded them was a falling age ; whilst the spirit of the mediæval thinkers was just the reverse, and gave such a stimulus to future literature as to establish it on a rock.

Nor was this age of romance and imagination entirely barren either of artistic genius or artistic labour. Statuary was always, though rudely, cul-

tivated ; and painting, though equally rude for several centuries, not entirely forgotten, whilst a new idea was growing in architecture, the noblest, the most elegant, and at the same time the most magnificent ever yet devised by the art of man. The Gothic Temple was rising slowly, majestically towering far above the humble dwellings of men, who, content with a dismal and a smoky cottage, floored with earth and stone and covered with straw, were proud of the contrast that existed between their own habitations and the huge cathedral, the House of God and the people. The Northwest of Europe was speedily covered with these magnificent buildings, which still exist to attest the fact that the sacred feelings of man, unimpeded by rules of classical criticism and unassisted by models of antiquity, were alone sufficient, with their own inspirations, to imagine and to realise an architectural structure as far superior, in elegance of proportion and solemnity of aspect, to the temple of the Greeks, as the worship of the saints to the worship of the gods. The Augustan age had no such grandeur, such elevation of soul. The very death and burial of the old Greek and Roman arts were indispensable to permit the Gothic temple to rise in its own original grandeur and beauty ; for we find that in Rome, where a few of the remnants of antiquity still continue to defy the ravages of time, not a single specimen of Gothic architecture is to be found ; but the inhabitants contented themselves

with miserable debasements of the ancient structures until the renaissance of ancient art, when they gave the preference to the Grecian and Roman model, in their *beau ideal* structure of St. Peter's Basilica. But the middle ages were then past ; and where is the artist who could now be persuaded to select such a model as the emblem of the church of which it is the capital ? Rome herself even missed the inspiration of the architectural genius of the middle ages ; nor was that surprising, for she also missed the inspiration of their literature. Being the seat of the spiritual power of the day, she so exclusively devoted herself to the spiritual element, that letters were driven from Italy westward to the end of the world ; and in the eighth century, when Charlemagne determined to institute schools, and give encouragement to literature, instead of sending to Rome, he made application to the North of Britain, and invited from York the celebrated Alcuin, who, under his patronage, began the restoration of ancient manuscripts of Scripture and patristic writings, and founded schools and colleges, throughout the resuscitated Empire of the West. Rome was then scarcely anything but spiritual ; and with a succession of Popes who perpetually struggled with the fierce barbarians who possessed the real, though the Emperors of the East affected the nominal, supremacy, the ancient capital became pious with adversity ; and heedless of all but its own spiri-

tual interests, and almost reduced to an allowance of bread and water, it had neither time nor inclination for the decorative arts, or the impractical studies of patristic and scholastic literature, which were more successfully cultivated in Britain, in Spain, and in Gaul, where the church enjoyed a greater protection, because of its claiming a weaker authority.

But no sooner was the Empire of the West restored, in the person of Charlemagne, and the power of Germany and France, in 800, A.D., and the Pope invested with temporal power and independence, than the temporal spirit began to visit the metropolis of the church. Slowly and gradually the restoration took place in the arts in succession; but it was not until the towns had secured their independence, in the twelfth century, that schools could be established, or encouragement found upon favourable terms for the revival of art; so that, for five or six hundred years at least, the fine arts of Greece and Rome were lost and hopelessly buried under the ruins of the Empire. Those years, however, were the hope of the Papacy. In those times of scientific darkness, adversity, spiritual unity, and devotedness, when the washings of a priest's hands, after saying mass, were given, by canonical permission, to the sick for medicine, the Roman hierarchy established its authority; and it is just when the towns began to be emancipated and to assemble the learned within

their walls in comfortable independence, and the arts to revive in their Greek and Roman form, and philosophy to think, and criticism to judge, and rich men—often merchants, like the Medici—to collect the writings of the ancients, and acquire a new taste for classical literature in preference to legends of saints and miracles, visions of purgatory and paradise, and wearisome treatises of scholastic theology, to study Horace and Virgil, Lucretius and Silius Italicus, to reason with Cicero and think with Quintilian, and offer great rewards for the discovery of Livy and Tacitus, or other of the lost and dispersed of the classics, that the worm crept into the plant of the church which was destined to prove its dissolution at last. The Papacy grew up in the absence of ancient classical literature and art, and its purity, like that of ancient Pagan Rome, was preserved in its days of ignorance, because its faith was genuine, and pretended to be what it really was. But when ancient literature and art had awakened a taste for something which the church, in its mediæval organisation, had not incorporated with her own constitution, the incompatibility of the two elements became apparent, and the most licentious free-thinking and profligacy appeared amongst those whose minds were awakened to a semblance of liberty by the extant writings of the ancients. The day of Retribution was at hand. The Church had destroyed Paganism, and triumphed over its ruins ; but Paganism, in its turn, arises from the

dead, and with the breath of its mouth it assails the Church and brings it into trouble. It was Heathenism that led the way to the Reformation. It prepared the Church for that alarming judgment. It restored the classics and all the arts in the Republics of Italy. It made men infidels, and converted grave divines into Deists and Pagans, who wrote Latin Poetry, and talked of Cupids, Venuses and Joves, as if they were realities, who represented the plays of Plautus and Terence in their theatres, and published commentaries on Pagan philosophers and poets, as models of writing, whilst Theology sank in the estimation of the learned, to be regarded only as vulgar twaddle, in comparison with ancient philosophy and poetry. Thus faith died, and the mission of Rome was questioned by the fact of her own apostacy, her Paganism and her immorality; and the more she cherished the arts and literature in her bosom, the more it became evident that a new spirit was awakened in the world, which was incompatible with the limited and presumptuous universality of her Empire.

A beautiful illustration of the eternity of missions! Every work of God is for ever. There is no new thing under the sun. If a great popular mission be suppressed by force, it will live again, and will have its revenge. The Roman Pontiffs had long congratulated themselves that they had frozen the snake; but it was only torpid, it was not dead; and when the genial season of sun-

shine returned, behold again the snake of Paganism in triumphant possession of the Vatican itself, and Leo X, an accomplished Heathen, preferring the works of his Pagan ancestors to those of the Church, and doubting the origin of his own authority ! And as if to symbolise and providentially proclaim the restoration of Greece in the Western world, at the end of this era, the City of Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Greeks, dispersed in multitudes Westward, brought with them the language and the literature of their ancestors, and thus prepared the Western scholars, who were already inebriated with the Latin classics, to drink deeper still of the cup of apostacy. When Luther visited Rome before the Reformation, he found himself alone amongst a host of classical infidels, who did not hesitate to sneer at Christianity and all its rites, and who even feared to read the Latin Bible, lest they should spoil their Latinity. Priests, in consecrating the host, did not scruple at the same time to add—"Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain ; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain." "I would not, for a hundred thousand florins, have missed seeing Rome," said the Reformer ; "for then I should have doubted, whether I was not, after all, doing injustice to the Pope. Now, I am quite satisfied on the point." It was Paganism that brought the Roman Church to this condition, and demanded the ordeal of the Protestant Reformation ; and in so doing she avenged herself of the treachery and bad

faith with which the Papacy had destroyed her, and worn her clothing, without having the honesty to acknowledge her mission. Now, that mission must be again asserted, and a new struggle begun. Though Greece has lost the City of Constantinople and the Empire of the East, it matters not ; it is merely the Christian Greece that is lost ; the Pagan Greece is reviving in the West, and men are now beginning to renew the whole process of literary and artistic ambition, which adorns the history of her ancient inhabitants. It is a different spirit from that of the middle ages. It is a spirit that looks to human agency more, and divine agency less ; knowledge more, and faith less ; matter more, and spirit less—a different polarity, but alike indispensable with that which precedes it ; antagonising it first, and tending to destroy it, but incapable of effecting its purpose ; for one polarity can only find ultimate rest in reconciliation with its opposite ; never in victory.

SCENE TENTH.

THE VIRGIN MOTHER AND HER CHILDREN.

It is the mission of Christianity to commence and take the lead in regenerating man and society also, and therefore, in beautiful analogy with this mission of the Church, it accommodates itself to the times and circumstances and assumes the re-

quisite protean forms for accomplishing its ends. The Roman form was particularly suited for laying the foundation of the new world. It is adapted for infancy, juvenility, warm loves and strong hatreds, necessarily declining, like nursery institutions, in times of puberty and maturity, but still preserving the mysterious interest of hallucination and romance, which ever allies itself to the reminiscences of youth.

Of this childhood, celibacy is the natural representative. It is naturally a spiritual, unsexual state, when love produces loves and affections, unclothed with body, but replete with interest, and powerful in exciting the strongest emotions. The monks and the nuns of the spiritual church were emblems of this antenubile condition—spiritual brothers and sisters, whose object was the regeneration of society in communion of heart and feeling, in opposition to the generation which merely produces the body without reference to the spirit. But the idea of a great united family, in regeneration as well as in generation, in the great as well as in the small family, is incomplete without the idea of a mother. This idea is of early date in the church. Both Greek and Roman churches have adopted it, but the latter especially have elevated the name and office of the Virgin Mary to the very throne of God, on which she sits and reigns in Heaven, Earth and Hell.

Divine honours are paid to this woman. She is

“the mother of all living”—“mutans Evæ nomen”—“changing the name of Eve.” She is the “Sponsa Dei,” or “the wife of God,” as the *Te Matrem*, addressed to the Virgin, like the *Te Deum* to God, distinctly calls her. This idea, so offensive to Protestants, and so really offensive in its literal sense, is, notwithstanding, an indispensable feature of Mediæval Regeneration and Christian development. The maternal is the complement of the paternal principle. A father without a mother, a husband without a wife, are undeveloped ideas. Christ’s wife is repeatedly spoken of as future in Scripture, but always with reference to the end of the Drama. The Father comes before the Son, and the paralogical mission of the Roman Church is admirably adapted for planting the germ of the Maternal Divinity. The maternal principle is the Eternal Humanity, an inalienable attribute of God, and therefore best represented, in its germinal and typical form, by a finite woman. The worship of Mary, the greatest of all feminine divinities ever yet worshipped in the world, must have a meaning. It is not a mere abortion in providential government. Such abortions exist only in men’s minds. In the mind of wisdom they are germs or embryonic forms of great and everlasting truths, that will be matured, and for ever established.

Woman is a type of something. She is the image of the maternal, as man is of the paternal, Parent of all. Both were made in the image of God, male and female. A bisexual image implies

a bisexual original. But the male, in Creation, takes the precedence of the female in the order of time. He also takes it in Revelation. The Jewish Church exclusively attached itself to the paternal idea. The Prophets mystically spoke of the maternal; but the clearest prevision of the future maternal principle is to be found in those Books called Apocryphal by the British Protestants, but accepted by the Romanists, and belonging to that period of Jewish history and that portion of the Jewish people which represent the feminine; namely, the period of Jewish Hellenism or Grecism. The idea took a form and personality in the Church or Feminine Mission; first, in the Greek Church, then in the Roman, and has been the most vital principle of Roman Catholicity in all Ages. Even now, in these scientific days, it is the very soul of Popery; and there is no surer sign of a decay of the Roman Catholic faith, in a member of that Church, than the growing laxity of his veneration and worship of Mary. Rome thus becomes the feminine counterpart of Jerusalem. The one has adhered to the Divinity solely; the other has added the Humanity to the Divinity, as his feminine counterpart, the Sponsa Dei. Rome has cherished, in its typical form, the idea of the Humanity as the *alter ego*, or second self personified, of Deity, without understanding the meaning of it; for a type is only a disguised truth, and in its nature is repulsive to reason and good

taste, and even offensive to the sense of beauty, like the embryo form of an animal.

The two ideas of the Divine Humanity are merely our old ideas of the absolute and the free—the unity and the multiplicity. Now an absolute unity can never have a family of children. It is the principle of multiplicity that brings the children. Were God an absolute one only, he could not be a father or a creator. The very idea of a creation in the Divine mind is antipolar to absolute unity. The unity is not the multiplying principle: it is an individual. It must be a Dividual attribute that multiplies, and that multiplying attribute is maternal. But then, again, the multiplying attribute must be a collective unity, not an absolute unity. It must be an infinite number of finite unities; and therefore the creative name of God in the Bible is a plural name, "Elohim," the Gods. But it is a multitudinous unity; and this collective unity is what men call Nature. It is Human Nature in us, and Universal Nature in the universe. But the highest idea, the best and purest image of it, is to be found in the Human Race, and Woman is its legitimate Representative. It is the Human in relation to the Divine; the free in relation to the absolute; the Mother in relation to the Father; the Gospel, or Liberty, in relation to Law: and therefore in the Gospel era only can the germ of the maternity be reared, even as in the era of the Law the germ of the paternity was reared. The

analogy is perfect ; wanting not a feature, and presenting not a difficulty. And no other woman could be found but one, in the whole family of mankind, to represent in typical form this Maternal principle of the Divine Humanity. And no form of worship ever has been so successful ; nothing could be more attractive for children ; nothing more natural, more endearing, more accordant with mediæval times. Accordingly, no worship has ever been so popular as that of Mary, and no Heathen Goddess ever was more decidedly worshipped than she ; and no worship ever was more imperatively necessary and inevitable for the future development of the great idea of the Divine plan, than the worship of this woman. The Roman Catholics may call their worship of Mary by whatsoever name they please ; it matters not to our argument ; nor are we blaming them for their conduct—far from it—we judge not men's consciences ; we are merely analysing and studying a great providential fact ; but we know of no worship that is more worshipful than that which is paid by the Romanists to this distinguished woman.

Thus they pray to her : "To thy protection we fly, O Holy Mother of God. Do not despise our supplications in the time of need ; but from all dangers deliver us always, O Glorious and Blessed Virgin!" — "*Sub tuum præsidium confugimus, sancta Dei Genetrix ! nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus ; sed a periculis cunctis*

libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa et benedicta.”* They even go a little farther than worship: they make the Virgin morally superior to God, gentler, more easy to be entreated; morally superior also to her own son. Wildly and extravagantly carrying out their paralogical mission to its ultimates, they assert with St. German that no one is forgiven, no one receives grace, no one is saved except through her; and with St. Fulgentius, that neither Earth nor Heaven would at this time be existing if it were not for Mary, who preserves them by her prayers from the wrath of the Male Deity and his Son. “She is the ladder by which sinners ascend to heaven, and even when the devils have the soul of a sinner actually in their grasp, at the name of Mary they loose their prey in fear, and the victim escapes like a bird rescued from a hawk’s talons.” The translation of all this into its anagogue or ultimate meaning is merely this: that Humanity, being that attribute of Divinity, without which we could not exist, and without which Nature itself could not exist (for it is the infinitely divisible attribute of God in contradistinction to his absolute unity), all this is affirmed of the ephemeral type which is true of the antitype. There is no greater truth taught, nor one that is more obvious and irrefutable; and yet, as typically understood and taught by Rome, it is an absurdity—truth in

* Roman anthem to the Virgin.

rags—the child in a manger. There are many other truths existing among us in like humiliation. The types in the Roman church are as translatable as those of the Jewish, and more sublime and beautiful; for the mission is farther forward in the action of the Drama; and surely those who can translate the atonement of a calf's blood into truth which it does not obviously express, may at least admit the possibility of translating the types and symbols of a greater institution than that of Moses in like manner. Now it is in the Humanity of the Divine Nature that the attribute of mercy dwells. The Divine or the absolute principle, abstractly considered, is inexorably severe, the representative of Law which must be inflexible. The Human, as the representative of the Free principle abstractly considered, is just the reverse; and therefore, in the harmonious being of these two eternal principles, the Divine, or the Absolute, is the source of judgment, and the Human or the Free is the source of mercy. Now mercy triumphs over judgment. The reasoning is logically perfect, therefore, which makes the *Sponsa Dei* more merciful than her husband. There is no paralogy or wildness in it except in so far as it substitutes Mary, the typical representative of the feminine principle in God, for the Eternal Humanity itself, the common mother of us all. And the singular paralogy that makes her the mother of all living, becomes, by this very simple translation, a scientific truth; for the man who

would refuse to admit that the Eternal Humanity is the mother of all men and women, may as well deny at once every fact that is recorded in the encyclopædia of science. The Eternal Humanity is the dividual, or mother of the children ; that is, Nature. The individual attribute, or absolute Divinity, cannot divide itself, and therefore cannot create either animal or plant. It is only by means of the dividual attribute that it can become a father, and this dividual attribute is the mother of all living. She it is that labours and brings forth. She it is by whom God made the worlds and all that in them is ; who, as Scripture teaches, was with him from eternity, "as one brought up with him, and was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." She it is by whom all finite things are supported, and without whom they would in a moment perish. She it is who translates the judgment into mercy, the original into its analogy or likeness, the germ into the living child, by the principle of growth that belongs to her without belonging to him. And therefore she to us is more closely and directly allied ; for she is to all creatures, in relation to God, what the mother is in relation to the father. We may call her Nature ; but she is in reality *to us* "The Divine Humanity."

But this is teaching a final truth. It was not finally taught, nor could it be so taught, in the Third Act of the Drama. It was paralogically taught, as it ought to be, through the medium of

a type in the Priesthood of Peter, as other truths were prologically taught during the Priesthood of Aaron; and the type of the little human Mary Mother is true, as she, as well as every other creature, is a drop of the Eternal Ocean of Humanity, and has its attributes; and being a woman, and the Mother of Christ, she is its most legitimate and its supreme type. Growth must begin with the seed, and the seed is the type. The development of that seed into the Eternal Humanity is a scientific certainty, and moral also; and the type is admirably adapted for the juvenile state of the church. It grows up in love and devotion there, and then it loses itself and its devotion in science, in the scientific and Protestant Era, and coldly reasons of Nature as a dead, unconscious machine. But in this stage of Gospel history, which corresponds to the Hellenic stage of Jewish history, though it has lost its early devotion, it was only devotion to the type, or finite mother: it has found the antitype, but not the devotion—found the Eternal Mother, but merely in the form of dead, unconscious Nature, the Heartless Mother, not yet born or quickened into life. The Romanist has a live mother, but she is neither the infinite nor the eternal. The Philosopher's Nature is not the live mother; but she is infinite and eternal. A step is gained, but it is through Death and into Death. The next stage of development is, that she becomes living and loving, as well as infinite and eternal.

Then the children are gathered : they can never be gathered either to a creature or a dead mother. There is only one mother for the children, and there is no mistake about her identity ; and almost the last idea which the Bible impresses on our minds is that of "The Spirit and the Bride"—a Divine bisexual idea which completes or sums up the Theology of the Era of Gentile Christianity, collects the children, and unites them in the great family.

With such a mother as a little typical, finite, and Sectarian mother in the middle ages, men were mere children, and played with ideas, and quarrelled about them, as children with toys. Those quarrels were marked by all the earnestness, the sincerity, and the violence of childhood. A failure to convince by argument was immediately remedied by physical force, when it could be employed. No means were considered either dishonourable or sinful, if amendment could be attained. The most cruel excesses were wantonly indulged in, and the most ferocious ideas entertained of Divine Justice. Painting the Deity as implacably and unreasonably just and unmercifully severe, they became implacable, unreasonable, and unmerciful themselves ; and, animated by the primitive spirit of the clan, their hatreds were strong in proportion to their loves ; so that no amount of cruelty was considered too great for heretics doomed to suffer everlastingly tortures that would make any possible amount of terrestrial suffering a comparative pleasure. The

Inquisition, which was instituted as a type and model of Hell, of which, as well as of Heaven, the Pope keeps the keys, was regarded by its founders and abettors as a merciful institution, like its prototype; nor would it be easy to prove it to be otherwise, admitting the original to be what they described it. Its patron, St. Dominic, who combined the features of the angel and the devil in one, as religious fanatics most frequently do, had a genius which "*maximè enituit in evertendis hereticis*"—"principally shone in the destruction of heretics"—according to the Roman Breviary; and for this destructive service, in which a bloodhound might have assisted him canonically, without being canonised, he was apotheosed like a Pagan Hero and exalted amongst the gods. He is but a model of the rest, who all became cruel in proportion to their love and zeal; for their faith was sincere, and their zeal running over; and they believed that they saved the souls of the many by the execution of the few. Even Mary's love, like that of the mother of a small family, and a special one, which reserves itself wholly for its own, and has nothing but hatred and cruelty left for the offspring of a rival, was attractive on one side and repulsive on the other; and she reigned in Hell as well as in Heaven, and presided over tortures on the throne of wrath as well as over pleasures on the throne of love. Finite and typical ideas are always defective and repulsive.

Excess and extravagance were the fashion of the times ; and, in the earnest desire of the Church to realise a community of order and peace and morality upon earth, innumerable laws of morals and manners were passed, and penalties affixed to disobedience ; and even an inquisition into private sins, and secret thoughts and intentions, was organised, whereby the Priest was enabled to penetrate into the very heart of his flock, and discover their shame ; and as he was invested with the power of forgiveness, and as without confession forgiveness was denied, he really succeeded in entering the inmost chambers of the soul, and taking an inventory of its contents. They were thus in his power ; and being in his power he frequently exercised a healthy and beneficial influence over them, and checked the natural excesses of the timid and obedient, by the terrors of the future world and the penalties of the Canon Law, compensating for want of truth, as Plato himself and St. Chrysostom would have done, in a modified form, by deceiving them for their temporal, if not for their spiritual, good. But all typical institutions founded on partial and finite ideas must be failures.

Cruel as he was to gainsayers and heretics, he was lenient ever to those who were gentle and submissive to Holy Church, and especially so if they were also rich and powerful. To such respectful penitents he mercifully relented, like Mary's viceroy, and granted them indulgence in the com-

mission of sin, and sold them permits to eat meat when they should not, and to do other things which without the permit were wrong : and he even invented for them ingenious ways of paying their forfeits, by Mary's inspiration ; as, for instance, in the great St. Dunstan's Penitential (the Saint who was esteemed even too cunning for the Devil), we find the following ingenious device, concerning great men, sinners of course :—" A powerful man, and one who has many friends, may, by the assistance of his friends, very much lighten his penance. *A seven years' penance may thus be completed in three days.* In the first place let him take twelve men to assist him, and let them fast three days with bread and water, and green herbs ; *and to do it completely*, let him procure, as well as he can, seven times a hundred and twenty men, each of whom is to fast for three days ; and thus will as many days be fasted as there are days in seven years." The device is admirable : we may even attribute it, as the Saint himself no doubt did, to "*a certain* divine inspiration ;" for by such means the exposure of the whole system of the imputation of merit and transference of penalty from one to another gradually took place, and men's eyes were opened to the childishness, as well as atrocity, of a law which thus evaded its own obligations, and conferred upon rich men the power of sinning at pleasure, and making poor men pay the penalty of their crimes. And yet this doctrine is nothing more

than a paralogical deduction from the doctrine of the atonement; for, as Christianity teaches that one obeys and suffers for many, this teaches that many may obey and suffer for one: it is merely the original doctrine polarised or inverted. It is a wonderful system. But all its peculiarities are distinguished by the marks of Catholicity, or the idea of a great unitary family, childish developed. It is the nursery of the age to come, in which nursery children play with dolls, and dress them in gay attire, and bedeck them with trinkets, and combine fantastically the two extremes of policy and absurdity, tenderness and cruelty, and talk of giants and monsters, and horrors innumerable, and then cling to mamma, and hug the dolls, and abuse the naughty men that belong to the monsters and wear the livery of the giants. It will pass away like youth, and leave its romantic associations behind it. Nature's Laws will tone down the fancy, and experience will correct the prepossessions of the ignorant. And when the symptoms of mental maturity begin to appear, men will also begin to perceive that the world is governed by very different laws from the canon laws of the Church, and regulated by very different principles from those of the Priesthood.

The study of natural phenomena is a new birth to the mind of man. Society is regenerated by a succession of births or new translations into wider arenas; and the study of Nature to a nursling of the Church is a new idea, which grows with

time and breaks the spells under which he was bound, by the exclusive and bewildering absolutism of ecclesiastical Law. It is in fact the beginning of modern times, the real North-western movement, the feminine movement of the sciences, which bring forth, by labour and industry, as the prological and logical movement of the East brought forth by impulse and metaphysical abstraction; and the one is in an especial manner the study of Nature, as the other was of God. And so much engrossed have men been with the modern study, in preference to the ancient, that many have become entirely one-sided—paralysed on one side, as the Believers on the other—and neglected the study of Theology, as a thing of inferior and limited import or value, if of any value at all. But there is neither ultimate truth nor meaning in any doctrine in which the two Primordial Principles are not perfectly reconciled. This reconciliation, however, belongs not to the fourth or National Era; that is the Era of Natural analysis and development, in which the Revelation of Natural facts or laws takes place, in detached and separate sciences, and the struggle is maintained between the new and old ideas. The reconciliation is the end, the Hope of the world and the Herald of Peace, the Spirit and the Bride in everlasting union.

The scientific movement begins in the age we are contemplating. It is analytically prosecuted in the succeeding Era, and it is the Destiny of the

Fifth to bring it synthetically to the terminus. The dawn of the New Maternal idea appears before the close of the Middle Ages. A new set of teachers come forward to cultivate the rising mind, which will then be made conversant with visible things, and checked in its reveries respecting the invisible. The lay teachers are the schoolmasters of Nature, as the undivine and unconscious mother; and they were just beginning to open their schools at the time of the revival of literature and the arts; and the minds that personified the season of analysis flocked around them, and prepared the world for that marvellous deluge of mental and dispersive energy which in the sixteenth century shook the empire of the nursery to its foundation, and excited the wrath of the story-tellers and mystifiers of society to the uttermost. Of that school of Nature, and of sensible realities, when a large portion of the population of Christendom began to break the leading-strings of the little Mary Mamma, and transfer their allegiance to the Universal Mother, without giving her a personality or conscious being, and without succeeding in the expected solution of the problems of existence of the Church or of Civilisation,* we shall treat in the ensuing act of the Drama.

* The Protestants call the church their mother; but there is no maternity, no feeling, in such a mother, any more than in the Philosophers' Nature. There is more in Mary. Catholics, therefore, call Protestants motherless. They are all motherless. The Revela-

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE ROMAN MISSION.

The Third Act, as was to be expected, represents a splendid attempt to realise the ultimate of the Drama ; but this attempt is a failure. It first monopolises all power by military and political art ; but it cannot retain it : the cement is not sufficiently adhesive. A new religious idea comes into the world, and the Empire, failing to accomplish its end with the old, adopts the new to assist it, but finds a most inharmonious result—a fierce and continuous antagonism between two principles that misunderstand each other. The body of the Empire decays by the irruption of the new elements, and it divides itself into two parts ; one part representing the Temporal, the other the Spiritual, power. The Temporal, which represents the Military Law, retires to the East ; the Spiritual, which represents the Gospel or Spiritual Liberty, occupies the West, which is “the field.” The absolute or stationary, and the free or growing, elements being thus geographically parted, remain so even till now. The old Roman Law, or body of the Empire, dies away slowly during the whole of

tion of The Mother is the Tree of Life. There are many little typical mothers that precede and typify Her. The idea of collective unity belongs to Her. The Roman idea of a mother is as legitimate as the Protestant ; therefore it is preserved.

the Middle Ages, becoming more and more feeble, meagre and diminutive, till at last, at the close of that long Era, dissolution is completed in the Greek division of the Empire, by the loss of Constantinople, and the dispersion or subjugation of the Greeks. Then the Law of Mahomet has reached the limit of its mission, and taken entire possession of the South and the East of the Mediterranean World. The whole Empire is thus at last divided between two constitutional elements of the Divine Drama—absolute Law without the power of development (a male principle) in the East ; and Gospel (that is, Liberty of development) in the West, and this liberty giving birth to a new form of Law ; for Liberty is a feminine principle, and must bring forth ; and the Liberty of Rome has brought forth. It has brought forth a Son in the form of the Canon Law, but not a daughter : a daughter represents Liberty, and greater Liberty than her mother represents. By this Son, or Canon Law, Rome has ruled the nations as with a rod of iron. These two (*i. e.* Gospel and Canon Law) are the mother and child of the Roman Church, unconsciously symbolised, in the name of Mary and her Son, by the sculptors and painters of Italy ; with this apparent fault : that the child of the artist seems rather too simple and amiable to represent the law of the Priest. But it represents the infancy and puerility of Roman spiritual legislation. The daughter is wanting. She is Liberty. The mother is abso-

lute in reference to a daughter, and the mother and the son are thus an absolute symbol.

The Church is no longer a Gospel alone when it gives birth to a Law. We have, therefore, as the result of the struggle of the Middle Ages, the Roman Empire divided between two Divine Laws: one absolute in the East, not born by labour of a Gospel or Free Mother, but an Ishmael or Bond Law imposed upon man absolutely without his co-operation in forming it; the other in the West, an Isaac or Free Law, born of a mother, and therefore so far representing Liberty, and also elaborated by man's understanding, but still subject to a dominant revelation, by the absolute interpretation of which it is guided, and therefore not the final step of Liberty, but represented by a male child, without its female counterpart, and born of a mother "under the Law." Thus the whole empire or double Eagle is bond.

The two Divine Laws of the East and the West have the power of driving the Roman temporal element northward. In the West the Empire reappears in Germany, and in the East it is driven into Russia. It was not until Constantinople was taken by Mahomet, that the Russian-Greek Church became independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Russian monarch took the name of the Cæsar, or Czar. But this was the final result of the victory gained by the two Divine Elements to drive the two human elements northward; each

claiming a protectorate, if not a supremacy, over the two ancient capitals. But the East being the natural representative of unity and absolutism, the Russian Pretendership takes the most absolute and unitary form, and has the most hopeful future in this capacity. Only it wants entirely the Western element ; at least at the close of the Middle Ages, and long afterward.

This ejection of the temporal element from the capitals of the Eastern and the Western Empires is the great fact of the close of the Middle Ages ; and, though it does not prove that the whole of the Empire has been subdued by the spiritual power of the twofold Revelation—the cloven tongue of Apostolical times—it shows at least that the Spiritual power has not been subdued, in as much as it possesses the two hearts of the Empire, and evidently exercises an immense influence over it, even to its extremities. A complete victory has not been gained ; but a most commanding position has evidently been secured. There is a weak point observable in each of the two Divine Laws : they are helpless without the use of the sword. Indeed, the Divine Law of Mahomet has consecrated the sword as an Apostolical instrument. The Canon Law of the Pope has accepted its assistance when it found itself unable to dispense with it, and has also employed the element of fire, and every species of physical force and torture, to supply the deficiency of its

spiritual element. Both Laws therefore are spiritually weak, and their Divinity seems rather nominal than real. But then, again, it is that very Divinity which commands the service of the sword, and therefore, however defective (abstractly considered), it is, notwithstanding, a Supreme power—a Spirit that has a sword for its body. In the East, that Spirit and sword are one. In the West, they are divided into two powers—a Church and a State.

It matters little about the form that a principle assumes. You may detect the same principle in a variety of forms. The principle of the two Laws of Moses and Mahomet is one. The difference is merely an accommodation to the times: they are both absolute dictations of a Spirit, and they have both given birth to a Rabbinical philosophy, by way of commentary, precisely analogous. The principle of Greek Philosophical Sectarianism and Protestant Theological Sectarianism is also the same. It is liberty of logical development and divided authority. The subject-matter of discussion is different; but the two missions are analogous. Whenever we are in a unitary mission, we are in a mission which is akin to the Jewish; and when we are in a divisional mission, we are in one which is akin to the Greek; and as it is the perfection of each to unite with the other by marriage at last, it follows that, in the progress of Society, the mixture of the two becomes such, before the end, that

each party represents both the absolute and the free in aspects innumerable, so as to render it difficult to characterise and distinguish them. The end is the reconciliation and repose of the two principles, without a victory to either, or to any nation or party. Each takes up an aspect or form of Liberty, which the other has not ; and no Nation, Church, or Sect, will be able to say to another in the end—"I have the truth, and you have it not." For the body of truth is broken for us, and distributed amongst us, and we all eat of it, as it is written—"Take eat, this is my body which is broken for you." The typical body of Christ never was broken ; but this is. Rome has the typical, and therefore breaks it not ; but she multiplies her unbroken body indefinitely, and thus reproduces a multitudinous unity.

All is well-ordered and sure : there is no mistake, no blunder, in God's Providence. Whatever may be the amount of individual liberty possessed by men, their collective movements are infallibly ordered : the flock that is driven by the Shepherd must all go to the fold, but each may gambol a little on the way at its own individual discretion. That makes little difference in the collective movement, which is fixed and determined. To the fold they are driven by Shepherd and *dog*, and to the fold they must go. So it is with men : their collective movements are predetermined and certain, and regulated by laws infallible and invariable, like those of

the universe. There is nothing to fear in respect to the ultimate, but the road that leads to it is a thorny path, and each individual must feel the pain of it ; for that is his moral discipline, though it is infinitely variegated, and to all appearance unequally distributed ; so that certain periods, especially those of transition, war, anarchy, and loose, undisciplined morals, appear in history like periods of judgment and vengeance, in comparison with others. But we know little of the amount of individual suffering experienced in each. We can only believe, as we ought to believe, that the Judge of all the Earth does right, and that we must be wrong when we ignorantly and presumptuously find fault with his administration.

Amid all the apparently unnatural movements of the middle ages, much was done of permanent and vital importance. The plant was taking root in the earth ; the elements of a new society, with a great and a unitary basis, were assuming a definite character ; the old unity was ramifying itself into branches ; the capillary system was forming with young blood, fresh from the heart ; life was circulating ; thoughts were budding ; conjectures were floating ; heroic and foolish impulses were felt and followed. It is the age of modern heroes, the age of chivalry and romance, of wild and imaginative youth, sanctified or solemnised by reverential faith, that laid the foundations of a

new world with a deeply religious feeling ; and to this day society feels the spirit on which it was founded, radiating powerfully from those enduring monuments of cathedrals, abbeys, churches, parishes, corporations, aristocracies, municipalities, nations, tongues, a common literary type or Roman letter, a common musical type and scientific language, modern legislation, representative government, democracy in a purer form than the ancient, translation of slavery into serfage—a step in progress—sanctification of woman as an inseparable wife, the partner, not the prisoner, of man—a step in advance of Judaism—and a suppression of Greek Hetairism ; germs of something virtuous aimed at, and germs not yet killed, though wonderfully modified, and grown, perhaps, into sour grapes, offensive to the taste, because not yet ripened. Rome aimed at more than it could accomplish, but that was just the reason why another mission should succeed it ; and therefore the angel proclaims over the Eternal City, as it did over her ancient archetype, Jerusalem—“ Go ye up on her walls and destroy, but make not a full end ; take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord’s.” He owns nothing, as his but the final, though all is his in the order of progression.

ACT FOURTH.—*The National Missions.*

SCENE FIRST.

THE NORTH-WESTERN NATIONS.

TIME.—*From 1453 or 1529 to 1792, or the Present time.*

THE fourth act of the Divine Drama is the numerical or analytical era in which the false unity of the third (that is, the Sacerdotal or Levitical) era is broken up and its feudalism collected into national communities, and a new attempt is made to solve the problem of individual freedom, establish the rights of private judgment and discover the secrets of Nature's laboratory. It is the mission of Greece revived on a larger scale and a wider field of enterprise. Greece Geographical is purely Mediterranean. So is Italy. They are hemmed in like the municipalities which represent their political and ecclesiastical civilisation, enclosed within walls. But the new idea of the Fourth Act is that of separate and independent nationalities, and requires the wide expanse of the world and the fresh breeze from the Atlantic ocean to give it breath. This new and more open arena it finds by proceeding North-westward on the highway of civilisation, and

taking up its head quarters on the great peninsula of the European continent, washed on the one side by the Mediterranean and on the other by the Atlantic ocean—the smaller and the larger idea in association. The natural construction of the whole territory is admirably adapted for promoting the growth of a national system. For the forcible division of Spain and France, by the interposition of the Pyrenean mountains, makes it almost impossible for the two countries to form one kingdom; whilst the Rhine on the North, the Alps on the North-east, and the British Channel on the North-west, are a natural revelation which dictates to France the propriety of confining the idea of her unity within the magic circle which it draws around her.

France is the first, perhaps the only, unitary nation that is formed. It received its name from Gregory the Great at the commencement of the Levitical Era of the Church. But it was only at the time of the Renaissance or Reformation, in the reign of Francis the First, that the idea of nationality was realised, and the French began to use their own language in their own legislative enactments. But even Rome itself led the way in the work of nationalisation; for, just before the epoch of the Reformation, the martial Julius the Second clothed himself in armour, led his troops to battle, and established the present independent territorial sovereignty of St. Peter's patrimony. This was nationalism on a small scale, and it even appeared

to give the temporal power in Rome an ascendancy over the spiritual. It must, however, only be regarded as the dawn of the coming era, and a beautiful symbolical representation of its character. This martial national Pope was he who laid the foundation of the present magnificent structure of St. Peter's. His military career is a confession of the weakness of the Papal spirit-word, and a significant emblem of the end of the Spiritual Era.

France being the first and most completely formed and central of all the modern temporal nations, it has taken the lead in language and literature, as the Catholic nation in philosophy, as well as in the manners and customs of civilised life, during the whole of the National and Numerical Era. It is not only admirably adapted by its geographical centrality for playing this part, but it is also so geologically constructed as to constitute a national, as Rome a municipal, type of the Great Empire of Civilisation itself. Let the reader only take up a Geological map of France, and he will find that, in the line of the Stream of Civilisation from South-east to North-west, France is divided into two parts, characteristically different. The South-east, and especially the central Plateau, partakes largely of the old world type, also the Spanish type, the volcanic and plutonic or primitive rock stratification ; particularly subject also to Earthquakes, which happen more or less violent there every year, and almost every month of the year. The other portion, which is the North-west, called Neustria or the

Paris Basin, in the direction of the movement of civilisation, and also a Western portion called the Gironde, are of a later and therefore a higher formation, and the general type of all that huge arena of modern activity and intelligence which constitutes upper and lower Dutch land, or the German Empire, as well as the South-eastern portion of Great Britain. Italy itself has much of this peculiarity also, for we find that the South-east, or old Italy, is the primitive and volcanic portion; whilst the North-west, or New Italy, is the cretacious, calcareous and argillaceous region: hence it follows, that in the revival of Literature, or the Renaissance which preceded the Reformation in Central Europe, it was chiefly in these more modern and industrial districts, that the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, in Tuscany and Lombardy, commenced the movement of Modern civilisation, but were prevented by the stern decrees of an irresistible fate from continuing the leadership in the work of innovation. But the North-western Liberty is creeping back into Italy at present by Piedmont, the North-western plain of its peninsula. Take the Roman Empire as a whole—take Europe as a whole—take Italy, Sicily, France or Spain, or even Greece, as a whole—and you find that the South-east of each is, with slight exceptions, the Plutonic and Rocky District, the representative of stern law and severe discipline, and the North or West is the region which bespeaks a certain repose of nature, in plains, and gently flowing rivers, in

which the struggle between the ferocious elements begins to be allayed, and men are even taught, in the language of signs, the natural course of the movement of The Drama. At the extremity of the Empire, however, in the British Isles, this relationship is inverted; thus revealing or pointing out a return of the social and political movement, for it is the North-west of Britain that is bounded by Rocks and Mountains, as if to stop the current, or give it a new South-western direction to America, by reflection. The living volcano of Iceland backs our North-western rocks afar off, and the South-east is the region of nutritive soil, agricultural repose and level plains, the seat of the metropolis of modern industry. In this respect, France and England are face-to-face opponents of each other; but the capital of each has chosen the higher geological ground of each, the favourite metropolitan site of modern, in contradistinction to ancient, civilisation; and whilst Paris stands in the North-west of France, London reposes in the South-east of England. Both, however, are built on similar geological strata, known to Geologists as the London and Paris Basins, consisting of chalk and marl, clay and rich tertiary deposits, as the two great, and hitherto rival, but quite compatible and accordable capitals of the civilised world. But the London houses are the houses of clay.

The Western world is divided into two by the Alpine mountains—regions actuated by principles

so very different, that they have been respectively called ultramontane and cismontane principles—principles beyond the mountains, and principles of this the north-western side of the mountains ; the former being more absolute, and the latter more free—a pure analogical division. We find, also, that the Danube, the greatest and the noblest river in Europe, belongs to the absolute or ultramontane regions ; and though flowing through a level and extended territory, a thousand miles in length, and drawing its waters from a surface of 250,000 square miles, yet being a backward-flowing river, and averse to navigation, its banks have not been able to attract the wayward spirit of civilisation, which will not be persuaded to move in that direction until he has fairly commenced his triumphant return to his home in the East. This retreat he commences with an Eastern-flowing river at the extremity of his course—a river of universal principles ; an island river flowing into the ocean ; and not, like the Danube, into a Mediterranean lake of despotic associations and local attachments,—juvenile peculiarities curable only by Atlantic breezes from the end of the world, when the Euxine, by being opened to all nations, becomes no longer a lake.

The soul of the fourth act of the Drama is to be found on the banks of the oceanic rivers, whose open embouchure is more than an equivalent for their diminutive size. But as the South-east is the region of the absolute, so look for it chiefly

in Italy and Spain, which is half Asiatic, though the great rivers of Spain all run to the Atlantic, and point to her destiny, if she had courage to pursue it as she did at the beginning of the Modern Era, when despotism was in vogue, and liberalism and heresy had not yet aroused her suspicions and offended her piety. But she is absolute by nature and position, and could not endure the new ideas ; so she quietly retreated into a mountainous capital, two thousand feet above the level of the sea, where she still represents the Southern pole of Western continental policy.

The Northern Pole is represented by Germany, which is just the reverse of Spain in respect to unity. It represents division or miscellaneous unity, and the divided or the ruptured Empire ; and true to this representative political character, it is the predestinated instrument by which the great Roman Empire is broken to pieces in its ecclesiastical capacity. Such a work allotted to Spain by a Superintending Providence would have been an analogical impropriety. Germany is, by nature and tradition, the great Rockblaster and Stone-breaker of Roman Spiritual Unity ; and therefore, with singular propriety, it was, at the time of the Reformation, the Great Representative of Roman Temporal though dislocated Unity—the Shade of the Old Empire. We see him again (the old Roman translated into German) rising from the dead as a Primitive Christian, and determined on

revenge. The Empire was divided into three hundred Political States, containing every variety of Political Government, from the King of Bohemia down through a graduated scale of Dukes, Landgraves, Margraves, Princes, Counts, Archbishops, Bishops, Provosts, Abbots, and free cities, with the Emperor chosen by the Electors to centralise the whole, but exercising only a nominal supremacy. This German system was the political counterpart of Rome. It originated with Charlemagne, who was a German, not a Frenchman (he could not even speak the French language), and it had existed more or less feebly since A. D. 800 ; struggling with the Papacy, supporting it in one sense and checking it in another, but always maintaining the divine right of the temporal power in opposition to the domineering and spiritual ambition of the Papacy ; the natural consequence of which was that more intellectual and doctrinal liberty was enjoyed in Germany ; and this was promoted by the vast variety of independent princes and free states, who, according to fancy or humour, caprice or rivalry, encouraged much diversity of opinion, which churchmen, actuated by Roman unitary principles, would naturally check and authoritatively forbid. It was the natural cradle of Protestantism, and the negative pole of Spain—the North-east opposing the South-west—the plain of modern industry, in opposition to the mountain of antiquity.

In like manner, Italy polarised England, the South-east in opposition to the North-west ; the former strictly conserving its despotic principles, and even strengthening them with the sword of Julius, and the latter antagonising them in the most resolute manner, as the true representative of the end of the Drama. Germany contains an Eastern element : hence the mixture of despotism and division. Spain contains a Western element : hence her commercial spirit and her geographical discoveries and colonisation. But England is purely North-western, and represents the goal toward which the race of civilisation is directed. The course is right through France, and thus France becomes the central nation of this Christian Cross, and osculates with all the four points that surround it ; being the nominal champion of Rome, the Catholic sister of Spain, the liberal correspondent of Germany, and the political fellow Protestant of England. The whole arena presents four points and a centre ; and the cross is so geographically arranged that Italy, France and England lie in the line of progress, and each of the five localities becomes the representative in part of two cardinal points in looking from the centre : Italy, South-east ; Spain, South-west ; Germany, North-east ; England, North-west ; France in the centre. This tells the fate of each till the next Great Crisis, when the Poles are inverted.

Moreover, this not being a spiritual Era, but the

reign of the temporal power, of natural science and intellectual energy, it is indispensably necessary that the central nation should have no national independent church of its own ; for, if it had, it could not thoroughly represent the character and tendency of pure temporalism. It therefore retains its Catholic name, and has its nominal head in Rome. This is the only way in which it could have represented the temporal spirit of the Era without going out of Christendom altogether, which would have broken the chain of tradition and the unity of the Drama. A national Protestant Church would have made the French people theological by free controversy. It was necessary that they should be made politicians and natural philosophers. Romanism naturally makes them such, if politics only assists it ; for it takes the Bible from them, and forbids Dissent. All this was done in France ; and free scope was given to philosophy, satire, fun, skepticism, infidelity—anything but religious division—and thus the French nation became the temporalised nation ; the nation of the times, of the age—*La Grande Nation*, *La Belle Nation*—and its capital the capital of this world ; where men were taught the way to live and enjoy life without the fear of God, or Devil, or anything else but the loss of money and health, and a chivalrous thrust with a rapier occasionally.

It was not until the end of this Era that Russia came into view, by the foundation of the new city

of Peter—Petersburg—*i.e.*, Peter's Rock or Fort—on her own western shores; but her capital is almost as far east as Jerusalem, and all her Empire lies eastward of her capital, with a trifling exception, and extends even farther than China in that direction. She is, therefore, by destiny, like Mahometanism, connected with both Hemispheres, and belongs to the Great Mundane Drama; but, osculating with both East and West, she has an important part to play with each. In the West she holds a conspicuous place, as being the great independent political representative of the Greek Church—the Rival of Rome—the claimant of Constantinople as the capital of Christendom (for in that sense she regards it), and then the successor of the Peter of Rome.* Her ambition feeds its hope on the name of Peter—on the name of Czar or Caesar, the heir presumptive to the Empire—on her primitive patristic faith, for the Greek Church was the first of the Churches—on her northern position, for the north is Rome's rival—and on her eastern position, for that is the original where the sun rises! She disclaims the West, as she does not see the necessity for progress or sun-setting,

* The Emperor of Russia is styled God's vicegerent. God and the Emperor are associated as a twofold unity; the sword and the spirit are united. A lieutenant-general presides at the Ecclesiastical Synod. The clergy are decorated with military honours, and wear them in their ministrations. It is another species of Popery—the Constantinopolitan development of the idea of church and state unity; the state taking the precedence.

and denies its divinity. She is Rome's Rival ; and as Rome is South-east, she is North-east. They both claim the Despotism of the East, but the one claims it politically, the other spiritually ; and thus the struggle between Rome and Russia for Constantinople is the old struggle between the Greek and Roman Churches in a new form. Austria, belonging to the North-east, is akin to Russia by position and to Rome by tradition, and to both by religion and hesitating policy. Prussia is akin to Russia by position, and to England, the North-west, by religion, manners and customs. France is related to England by position, to Rome and Austria by Religion. And these five powers, into which the political world divides itself before the close of the Era, naturally arrange themselves ecclesiastically, and also, to a great extent, politically, into one and four ; Russia being the great alarmist of the four, as the Turk in the Middle Ages, and the Pope to the self-governing nations of Western Europe. And thus there remain three great unitary despots—the Czar, the Sultan, and the Pope—all claiming supremacy over Constantinople : one as heir of the first metropolis of Christendom ; the second as its possessor ; the third as possessor of the real capital of Christendom. The which facts render the possession of Constantinople a subject of immense interest during the fourth Era ; and, at the last, a subject of alarm, when the new tenant of Peter's Burg—the Emperor of the North and the

Pope of the East—appears in the field as the temporal and spiritual rival of the Mediterranean Peter in claiming the supremacy of the Greek Church, as well as professing its championship.*

Such is the position of the nations destined to play the chief part in the Fourth Act of the Drama of Civilisation ; from which it follows, that in the Roman arena, excluding its rival, Peter's Burg, we must expect the greatest efforts of despotism, political and ecclesiastical, to be made in the South and the East ; whilst the spirit of Liberty, or the assertion of the rights of private judgment, and scientific and industrial activity and speculation, takes its stand in the North-west, and defies its antagonist.

The nationality of the fourth Era was, at its commencement, numerously diversified. France stands *par excellence* as the nation ; but there was a graduated scale of divisions and subdivisions in Western Europe, of surprising inequality and minuteness. Germany, the great type of the analytical aspect of the age, and the seat of Empire, was divided into three hundred States of various magnitudes, beginning with the Empire and graduating downwards, presenting the political aspect of a vast number of continental islands and

* Sweden and Norway are allied by religion to Germany, and Denmark must be regarded as a part of Germany. The old Roman Empire is the true theatre of the Drama ; but still it admits, like a city, of an *extramural* suburb.

peninsulas analogous to those of ancient Greece, and animated also by a similar spirit of jealousy and rivalry, though knit together by one vernacular tongue and the Shade of an Empire. Even the nationality of France (*La Grande Nation*), though the most completely realised, was far from being complete; and numerous provincial Parliaments disputed the supremacy of the central power, and checked the progress of that centralisation which is the soul of the national system. Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain were still more divided than France; and all together presented an admirable arena for commencing a new analytical Era, in which, so soon as the Roman Despotism was shaken, the study of Nature was to be conducted in subdivisions innumerable, and men were to arrange themselves into Sects and Schools and Coteries, for collecting the details of natural knowledge, and decomposing the solid mass in which it had presented itself to the superficial eye of the Paralogical Era of Roman Spiritual Supremacy. In that Era men had analysed the ideal under the Spiritual Supremacy; now they must analyse the real under the Temporal Supremacy. Then they had investigated every possible aspect of the Divine, the invisible and the intangible; now they must pursue the same process with respect to the natural, the visible, and the tangible. It is the Era of Nature in her divided aspect. It is the Divine woman of the Western World and the Modern Times,

coming out of the Divine man of the Eastern and Olden Times. It is the other scale of the balance ; and the Paralogical Era of the Roman Millennium of the Middle Ages is to this new Era of modern times what the Jewish Prological Era was to the Greek Logical Era—the first of a threefold series, but standing aloof from its successor, and even now protesting against it, as if the double Era of the Renaissance and Reformation were a great misfortune in history, and God's Providence were by them defeated in the government of the world. The breaking up of the unity of the Church in this Era, by the Reformation, was a grand analogical fact, in perfect harmony with the Philosophical Mission of the age. It was an age of analysis ; and the analysis must be conducted in the spiritual as well as the temporal sphere. Germany therefore, the grand type of political division, begins the work of ecclesiastical division, and the North-western Nations follow her example : for the new movement is a North-western movement, and belongs in a special manner to the ends of the Earth, the terminus of the old Roman Empire.

France conducts another movement, more unitary in one sense, but more disruptive in another ; for she takes the lead in the revival of Greek philosophy, literature and art, and that free, loose and irregular use of the tongue and the pen which saps the foundation of natural and revealed religion more than the controversies of Sectarian strife,

and inevitably leads, as in the great climax of the French Revolution, to a total subversion—a breaking up—a pulverisation of the Rock of the Ecclesiastical Constitution. In Germany, and in Protestant countries, the subdivisions were rather like boulders than sand; but in France the pulverisation of the Rock was complete, by the wit, the ridicule, the sarcasm, and the central authority of Parisian fashion: for in the gay metropolis of the central and flowery nation of the West, not only all the free spirits of the Franks, but even of Europe, were collected; and the constant energy with which they pounded the rock of Christendom was so successful, that even in less than one century after the Reformation, the Père Marsenne declared that Paris alone contained 50,000 Atheists, and that sometimes as many as twelve of them were to be found together in one house. In the following century, our own Infidel Hume found himself regarded as a simpleton in Paris for even believing in a God; whilst the Princess Palatine, mother of the Regent Orleans, at a very early period of the same century, expressed her belief that in Paris there were not a hundred persons, including ecclesiastics as well as laymen, who held the Christian faith even to the extent of believing in the existence of our Saviour.* Paris was the region of the most complete religious decomposition, or negation of

* See "Quarterly Review," December, 1853.

Romanism : and in this very unanimous negation, without the substitution of another faith, it found at last a strength which it mistook for a positive principle. For, in decomposing the religious element, it composed the social and political element, and sought for unity or Catholicity, as ancient Greece and Rome had sought for it, in the human or the natural rather than the Divine. In this respect it is the true type of the fourth Era, which places the temporal above the spiritual power, and asserts for each distinct nationality a supremacy of its own. In cultivating this spirit, no people have gone to greater excess than the French, who do not even hesitate to deify their country, *La Patrie*, and who even applaud the patriot Michelet when he proposes to teach France as a religion to the children in the schools. It is the grand type and centre of the numerical Era—nationality with a negative basis, or a positive patriotism at most, strong in resistance, and powerful in conflict, but feeble in peaceful and constructive activity.

Analogous to this analytical division of nations and states, sects and parties, and scientific pursuits, is the division of languages, which characterised the opening of the new Era. The National Era becomes at the same time the vernacular Era, the Era in which the old unitary language of the Spiritual Empire is abandoned for the mother tongues of the young nations, all proud of their native speech and resolved to cultivate a literature of their own.

During the Middle Ages the only literary language of high caste in the Western world was the Latin. Men wrote histories, and even Legends of the Saints, in Latin, for all who possessed any smattering of Education were supposed to understand the Sacred language of the Church; and when Greek was, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, first introduced into the schools and monasteries, many of the monks protested against it as heretical, and crossed themselves with horror, as if it were equivalent to a profanation of the Sanctuary. The Italians were the first to employ their own language in high literature. Dante, in the fourteenth century, had written in Italian that blasphemous but masterly epic called "The Divine Comedy," in which he vents his own spleen, and exhibits his own partialities, making the Almighty a low and unjust participator in both, with a character of spite and vengeance and petty favouritism, taken from the model of the Holy Inquisition, the visions of the devotional and ecstatic, and the theatrical mysteries of the Middle Ages. Petrarch had sung the praises of Laura in choice Italian verse, and Boccaccio had pleased the imaginations of the sensuous in elegant prose of a somewhat Latin construction. But the revival of ancient literature, that speedily followed, arrested the new movement in Italy; and it was not until the popular excitement of the theological struggle between Rome and the Protestants, in which the French language was chiefly employed in France,

in Flanders and in Switzerland, the German in Germany, the Dutch in Holland, and the English in England, that the full force and capability of the modern languages began to be felt as an instrument of action on the popular mind. The Provençal language, the language of Romances, Ballads and Amours, had long been cultivated over the greater part of Europe, and produced innumerable specimens of lively genius in its own peculiar sphere. It had also tended to assimilate the languages of Europe by acting the part of a profane, as the Latin did the part of a sacred, universal language. But it yielded by degrees to the superior attraction of the popular dialect of the metropolis of each country, so soon as that metropolis had power to establish its claims. This, however, was very late, and it was only in the reign of our own Queen Elizabeth, and the lifetime of our immortal Shakespeare, that the Castilian dialect succeeded in taking the precedence of all other dialects of Spain, by means of the inauguration of Madrid as the Capital of the Kingdom under Philip II. The Protestant controversy did much for all the North-western Languages of the Empire; and the pens of Calvin and Luther, and their associates and successors, in French and German, gave a vigour and a dignity to their respective tongues of which they had not formerly been deemed susceptible. There is nothing so well calculated to elevate the tone and character of a language as Theological controversy; for, so long as a speech is too vulgar to

be employed on a theme so elevated, it has few opportunities, in popular converse or popular literature, for clothing itself with a dignified phraseology. A great and important step was therefore taken at the Reformation, when the popular tongue was made the vehicle of theological discussions of the first order, and when the Bible, which had previously been concealed from the people under the guise of a Latin translation, was reproduced in the vernacular tongues of all the North-western nations, and made accessible to the unlearned and the middle classes, then rapidly increasing in number and influence.

The three great nations which figure on the Continent, during the numerical era, are Spain, France and Germany, including all the minor divisions.* Italy still occupies a conspicuous place, but she no longer leads. Germany begins the fight by an open declaration of war, and Italy begins to lose her ground, but she previously weakens her own position by incautiously commencing the revival of letters ; which directly leads to the revival of primitive religion by her old enemy the Northern barbarian. Germany had always been the enemy of the absolutism of the South, the plain to its

* Spain and Portugal must, in this rough outline, be regarded as one. Switzerland belongs partly to Germany, partly to France ; Belgium chiefly to France ; and Holland and Denmark to Germany. A more minute analysis would distinguish each ; but that is inexpedient, perhaps too difficult, at present.

mountain. She broke up the political Empire of Rome with her hordes of rude and uncultivated liberals, and now she is prepared to attack the spiritual empire, having well replenished herself with weapons, theological and scientific, and with mental vigour and resolution to conduct the invasion. There is a stream of life and vigour on the North of the Roman channel of civilisation which continually pours itself into and disturbs it, and struggles before it combines with it. We saw how it introduced a new principle into the old municipal Empire of Rome, feudalised it, and prepared the way for nationality. We shall see again how it introduces a new principle into the Spiritual Empire of Rome ; sectarianising it, and thus preparing the way for a larger idea of Catholicity than Rome, the Mediterranean Apostle, has ever been able to grasp. It does this by analysing, and thus dissolving, the old Peninsular Catholicism with a powerful criticism, like that of the sword of the old Barons, which breaks up the Spiritual Empire into innumerable divisions of thought, the private estates of individual men, or collective parties, in which they exercise independent jurisdiction, in spite of all superior authority nominally claimed. France will assist it and popularise its ideas, and without apparently breaking faith with the Roman Church, it will play with all the novelties of German analysis, without remorse or fear, with a provoking perseverance which neither the fear of

God or of the Priest will have power to deter or to resist. Rome will look aghast, and Spain will resist and adhere to the unity of the old Paralogical Era, and endeavour to support its waning authority with physical force and with new ecclesiastical machinery; and a mortal struggle of graduated principles, from the Roman Absolute supremacy down to the wanton and the reckless negation of all authority whatever, will have the effect of exhibiting all the possible aspects of known truths and eliciting new ones, either by the conflict of opinion, or the ardent and impassioned researches and investigation of individual minds.

In this atmospheric agitation of mind, this ardent pursuit of knowledge, the modern sciences will come to the birth, and men will discover that so far from the paralogical science of the Church of the Middle Ages being the climax of human attainments in knowledge, it was merely the dream of uninstructed infancy which has all to be corrected, nullified and superseded, by the study of an entirely new hemisphere of thought. During that long and mystical era of the Spiritual Empire, men did not even know that they lived in a planet; geography was unknown; the earth was not yet measured or described; geology was unheard of, and the construction of the earth was a total mystery, which led to the most erroneous and bewildering notions. Astronomy was not yet a science; of chemistry men had no idea except as

something connected with sorcery ; neither plants nor animals, nor minerals, were classified, nor the law of order in their construction even thought of. The elementary substances of nature, by which her marvellous combinations are effected, were undiscovered ; the old elements of air, water and earth, had yet to be broken up like the Roman Church, and reduced to their constituents ; wherever a natural compound existed, it had to be dissolved, that men might note its various ingredients. Nature must be forced to reveal her secrets, and no superstitious fear of dishonouring her, or corrupting themselves, must deter men from pursuing the great work of analysis, when the age of analysis has come. Science after science arises in continuous and rapid succession, and the whole field of natural knowledge is thoroughly revolutionised ; and yet, such is the force of a mission, there is something about the paralogical mystery of the Mediæval Church which withstands every revolution of opinion in science and recurrence to primitive Christian doctrines ; for, though it fears the novelty and is shaken by it, yet still it possesses the principle of the Rock from which it derives its strength, and defies every wind of doctrine that assails it.

The subdivisions of human thought and activity are so multifold in the numerical Era of the Drama of Civilisation, that we cannot be expected to enter into any detail of them. They comprehend

the whole arena of scientific investigation, the universe itself, as it appears to the senses, or can be made to appear by the aid of material agents. The movement began, like the ancient movement, in heaven, and descended to earth. Astronomy early began to be ardently and successfully studied. The facts of the solar system were mathematically demonstrated, and confirmed by the aid of telescopic observation ; the earth was measured and circum-navigated ; the globe was mapped. The large ideas preceded the small ; the general, the special ; for men were just coming out of a Catholic era, in which the mind was accustomed to mass and generalise, and incapable of dealing with minute particulars. Hence the tendency, long after the commencement of the New Era, to systematise and to refer the unknown phenomena to imaginary causes, to treat empirically the mass of nature, and build up systems of specious generalities on the facts as they multiplied. But in proportion as these facts multiplied, down came the systems in succession, one after the other ; and men arrived in the end of the era at the practice of chemical analysis and minute details, in characterising the facts of botany, zoology, mineralogy, meteorology, and the whole *terra firma* of science. On this *terra firma* ingenious speculation is no longer admissible, but as much detested as it was formerly admired. This is the true mission and terminus of the Era—the Era of analysis, or breaking up

of all speculative theories, built by imagination, like castles in the air, without a substantial basis of matter to rest upon. And when this object is attained, the era closes; for its mission is analysis only, and whatever of synthesis it ever exhibits belongs to the dawn of the age that succeeds it—a ray of light that is borrowed from the future, to keep hope alive, and encourage the faith that looks for the advent of an age of reunion.

This great work of analysis has chiefly been conducted by the press, in contradistinction to the pulpit. The pulpit belongs to the Rock, or the unity; and though, in relation to Rome, the Protestant Pulpit may be called analytical, inasmuch as it breaks up and freely investigates, it is only so far as to break the communion with Rome, and then to establish its own unyielding absolutism. In reference to material science, the pulpit necessarily and dutifully holds back. It always declares its own article of faith; never doubts; it speaks with authority, according to formulæ which must not be violated, and cannot be violated without ecclesiastical disruption. Had the pulpit, then, been the only or even the principal organ of the analytical era, the analysis would have proceeded a very little way. The investigations of physical and metaphysical science are neither adapted nor suitable for the moral and religious instruction of the people at large. They are specialities adapted

for peculiar classes of minds ; and some of them also are so very circumscribed in the interest which they excite, that scarcely a hundred men in all Europe will be found either qualified or tempted to study them. A special means of communing with these minds was therefore indispensable—something that would appeal to their understandings more and their feelings less ; something that would enable them quietly and deliberately to listen, and ponder, and listen again, and reconsider until they comprehended. The word spoken is not adapted by nature for this. It is a word addressed to the ear, and dying as soon as it is uttered—a word that appeals to the heart and the affections more, and the understanding less, and gives no time to consider, but only to feel, and it may be to weep. Such a word belongs to the pulpit, whose mission is to the ear, not to the eye ; whose range is limited, like the valleys of Judea, surrounded by mountains, in which it originated ; and it ever will be limited, for its sphere is analogically the same for ever, even when it is translated into its highest state of being. But such a mission of limitation to the ear does not fulfil the whole mission of instruction : the language of the eye is indispensable to complete it. The range of the eye is unlimited. Its language is fixed and permanent. It does not die, like the word spoken : it abides with us for ever, like THE WORD, at his second advent, when “every

eye shall see him ;" and it visits a man in his home, and patiently waits for him, and repeats itself as often as he demands the repetition. It goes into his pocket, it lies on his bookshelf, and waits for his call as a faithful and devoted servant, and it is multiplied indefinitely by mechanical agency. In an age of intellectual inquiry, analysis and minute investigation, such an organ of instruction was required, and Providence sent it just at the time when the age demanded it—a hammer for breaking the Rock in pieces. It was just at the revival of literature that the art of printing was discovered, and it was just beginning to be available for popular instruction when the Reformation began, and demanded its service. The pulpit was then very powerful, for the process of analysis was not minute, and the people in general easily comprehended its leading features. But the minuteness increased as the press improved, and subjects were discussed in printed books and pamphlets which could not, with propriety, be introduced into the pulpit or into manuscripts. These subjects increased, and in due time the pulpit was astonished to perceive that the press was occupying an immense field, which itself could not enter ; that, in fine, the press had all the world outside the church, and the pulpit was confined to the area within it. That world outside the church increased amazingly, like an undulating circle on the smooth lake ; and the word spoken

is now almost neutralised by the overwhelming force and magnitude of that which is written.

The progress of the written word is curiously characteristic of all progress whatsoever. It began with large, massive, solid-bound books, ponderous folios, quartos, and octavos, whose circulation was confined to small coteries of University men and gentry, who signalised one another by means of controversy or personal communion and correspondence. A few pamphlets were addressed occasionally to the people, who gradually acquired the habit of reading, especially in the cities; but popular periodicals were unknown for three hundred years, and it was only about the time of the French Revolution that the Press was discovered to be an instrument capable of addressing, rousing, and simultaneously exciting the mass of a nation. Since that time, its progress has been such that it may now be regarded as the great intellectual power of the age. It has now superseded the pulpit in influence; but, for want of that unitary Absolutism which ever belongs to the sacred, in whatever guise it may appear, the Press is a huge and many-headed hydra, whose collective influence tends to dissipate principle, to profane society, to materialise faith, perhaps to destroy it as a religious element, and to represent the world as a hideous assemblage of quacks, impostors, rivals, competitors, partisans, schemers, and swindlers,

whom knowledge rather tends to sharpen into mischief than rectify into truth. That is, without presuming to judge the conscience of literary men, the amount of knowledge or facts, and the mystifying whirlwinds of conflicting opinions which the Press generates in sects and parties and individuals, has a profane effect upon superficial thinkers, who constitute the majority ; and they are tempted to believe, like the ancient Greek Sophists, that truth is inscrutable, and that he is the wise man who can succeed in making every subject serve his own interest, and the worse appear the better cause. Such has been the effect of the influence of the Press. But this is analysis. This is just the breaking up of the rock into sand and soil. It is productive of material wealth in the meanwhile ; and we rejoice to think that there is another Era of Re-union to succeed it. The Pulpit has held back from this analysis ! It belongs to the past, and fears to enter far into the future of innovation. It commenced the Era with Protestant Analysis ; but stopped and established its first formulæ, and forbade any further progress. A few Dissenters ventured a step or two farther ; but the most of them went backward rather than forward. The Press, not the Pulpit, represents the age of analysis ; and it has now arrived at the capillary system of extreme subdivision, in which every man may not only be said to be a sect of himself, but even a

congregation of sects : for he often entertains so many different opinions that his mind may be regarded as a mob of ideas.

Yet not altogether evil is this result ; for it is the dissolution of old dogmatism, the neutralisation and extinction of bigotry and persecution. In it we see the root of the spirit of the new age, the spirit of charity and re-union. The end of an age of bigotry and the beginning of an age of charity must by their fusion constitute a crepuscule or dawn, in which the spirit of each is neutralised by the other ; and, as this is the peculiarity of every age of transition, it often assumes the appearance of unprincipled levity, profanity, ridicule, satire, and caricature, in which the old principles are lost and the new not yet apprehended. But this, which is natural, is not alarming. On the contrary, it is hopeful. The chill of the dawn of a summer morning is not indicative of the approaching winter. It is a natural and explainable fact ; and the facts of the social atmosphere are as natural and intelligible as this. But the subject more properly belongs to our own age, though we could scarcely avoid coming down to the present, in treating of the Press and its mission.

SCENE SECOND.

THE REVIVERS OF LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND ART.

The National Era is original in one sense, and imitative in another. It is the reproduction in principle of another Era that preceded it ; not of a unitary Era (for that was the special character of its Catholic predecessor, and the alternate steps of the unitary and the divisional are necessary for progress), but a re-appearance of the Greek spirit of logical controversy, polite literature and arts, and their necessary accompaniment, free-thinking.

We cannot specify any particular epoch for the revival of this Grecian spirit, for it gradually rose like a dawn upon the world. But Providence has taken care to provide us with epochs and periods throughout the whole of the Drama, by means of certain great political occurrences which had a special influence in transforming the old into the new Times. No event is more deserving of holding this place as the date of the Renaissance than the loss of Constantinople by the Greeks, and its possession by the Turks in 1453, A.D. ; for, though Manuel and John Chrysoloras had both taught Greek in Italy previous to the fall of Constantinople, yet by this reputed misfortune to Christendom, vast numbers of the learned Greeks were exiled from their country and naturalised in the

Western world, and they brought along with them not only extant copies of Greek classics unknown in the West, but the knowledge of the language itself, which was all but entirely forgotten. They also found it very profitable to translate these writings into Latin; and thus the whole volume of Greek philosophy and poetry was almost suddenly laid open to the understanding of the Latin Scholars. In this great work of resuscitation none distinguished themselves more than Constantine and John Lascaris. Constantine was welcomed in Milan by the Duke, and appointed to teach his daughter Hippolita the Greek language. For her use he wrote his Greek grammar, which was the first Greek book that issued from an Italian press. John was patronised by Leo X, who at his instigation founded a college for noble Grecian youths at Rome, from which proceeded numerous works on Greek literature. Francis I of France invited him to Paris, for a similar purpose; and though his intentions were frustrated by national wars and misfortunes, he did not dispense entirely with the services of the Greek refugee, but employed him in supplying the Royal Library in Paris with Greek manuscripts. So much indeed was done by these two men alone, that Carlo Denina says of them, that not only Italy, but all the nations of Europe, regarded them as the principal restorers of classical taste. They were both Constantinopolitan Exiles. The time was come for a revival of the spirit that

characterises the Greek mission, and the fall of Constantinople marks the epoch.

The ardour with which these Greek teachers was received at first, amounted to a passion. In the language of Coluccio Salutati to one of them, they were regarded "as the messengers of Divinity, bearing the torch of knowledge into the midst of darkness;" and they did not fail to receive the most ample encouragement from the Princes of Italy and the rich Ecclesiastics, to whom the world is indebted for that very weapon which has lowered the crest and destroyed the supremacy of the Italian peninsula.

"They nursed the pinion that impelled the steel"
against themselves.

In this work none were more profuse and magnificent than the celebrated family of the Medici, who founded a Greek academy at Florence, under the superintendence of another exile (John Argyropylus), "from which, as from a Trojan horse," illustrious Greek linguists emerged, who spread the knowledge of that language over all the academies of Europe. The effect of this was very soon perceptible, not only in philosophy, by shaking the old Scholastic system, which had then become a mere engine of Popery, but in directing Theologians to the study of the Greek Testament, in which, directly, instead of the Latin Vulgate, they began to re-read the book of Primitive Christianity with a critical eye, and the novelty of a new, as well as

the advantage of the original, phraseology to awaken their interest. All this was necessary for the Reformation, which was the immediate result and accompaniment of the Renaissance.

The movement was universal throughout Christendom. The old Greek philosophies, which had either been entirely lost, or been blended and confounded in the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, began to re-appear in succession in their original distinctive identities. Their mediæval amalgamation was their Catholic unity. Now that unity must be disintegrated, and Catholics and Protestants together agreed in effecting this end. They were not aware of its recondite meaning and its ultimate consequences. Even the Popes and the Clergy encouraged the movement, which, in their estimation, was merely classical; and when at last it became alarming, it was checked and controlled by means of a machinery called the Congregation of the Index, which was an Inquisition for books, that condemned the heretical to be burned or their sale to be prohibited. Much, however, passed the Inquisition which was characteristic of the Era; and accordingly, even in Spain and Italy, as well as in France, Germany, and England, we find a revival of all the old Greek philosophy, and a keen and elaborate analysis of all its various aspects in succession. But there is this remarkable distinction between the Roman and the Protestant nations: that the former adhered more closely to the spirit

of the old scholastic philosophy, as a sacred and canonical system ; whilst the Protestants deliberately rejected it in that sense, and reduced it to its elements by decomposition. Amongst the revivers of the Aristotelian Philosophy, none were more distinguished in Germany than Melancthon the Reformer ; so that, under his influence, it was at last introduced into almost all the German schools with the sanction of civil and ecclesiastical authority—a fact than which there could be nothing more analogically true to the character of the Era then begun : for Aristotle, like the Protestant mission, gives the precedence to the temporal rather than to the spiritual power. Besides, as thus introduced, it was fixed and articulated like an Established Church, and instead of taking the spirit of the system as a guide in reasoning *a posteriori* from facts, they took the authority of Aristotle himself, and made an establishment of his philosophy—an evil that was admirably corrected by Bacon afterwards, who destroyed the personal authority of the sage with a spirit of philosophical dissent that accompanied the rise of the parallel movement of Theological Dissent and Puritanism in England. The natural tendency of this Aristotelian philosophical movement, from the first, was to promote materialism—a result which could never have been foreseen by Philip Melancthon, or he would have shrunk, like Luther, from the cause of an effect so alarming. But this materialism is

the mission of the age; and, singular to say, that of the two great leading Reformers, Luther and Melancthon, the one detested Aristotle, the other admired and patronised him. Aristotle taught the mortality of the soul, and that scientific doctrine that God cares nothing about the affairs of men; and that other unscientific doctrine, that the world has a soul, of which we all partake, and into which we merge at the death of the body. Of course Melancthon did not believe all this, but he trammelled himself with an authority that did, and he planted a germ that grew. And it is very certain that even the Reformers were, at the first, very much infected with Aristotelian belief of the mortality of the soul; for even Luther himself, hostile as he was to Aristotle, doubted whether death was, or was not, an insensible sleep till the resurrection; thus believing, or leaning to the belief, that the physical or mundane body is the only tenement of life. The germinal features of the whole era are to be found in its originators.

The Romanists generally preferred Plato to Aristotle, as more agreeable to the spirituality of the Christian faith, which he really is; and Italy was the great school of Platonic instruction and revival. Platonism in Germany assumed the cabalistic form and associated itself with the quackery of the occult sciences. In England it was found particularly useful in combating the growing ma-

terialism and naturalism which characterised the era of Protestantism from its commencement. It is the animating spirit of Ralph Cudworth's and Henry More's philosophy.

Besides Plato and Aristotle, all the other eminent Greek philosophers had their followers and advocates. Even the doctrine of Epicurus was revived, and the theory of atoms, the impalpable sand of the universe, defended, and his morals inculcated without his atheism, by many distinguished men. Gassendi was the most eminent writer of this school, and he supplied the want of an omnipresent and omniscient spirit as the mover and regulator of the atomic universe, which is the great defect of the Epicurean system. The Stoics found their admirers in Lipsius, Scioppius and Heinsius; and the doctrine of necessity or predestination, which the Stoical Porch inculcated, along with a strict law of moral discipline and self-denial, was by no means difficult to reconcile with some of the leading features of Christian doctrine. With Christian doctrine all these philosophies were associated, as they re-appeared in the schools; and it was only because they contained something which Christianity, as bequeathed by the New Testament writers, did not possess, that they were permitted to take possession of the seats of learning; for these institutions appeared to be their natural inheritance, and only to exist by and for them—a beautiful illustration of the immor-

talities of the Greek mission and the legitimate restoration of its authority in the new age of intellectual activity.

Nor was the old Greek skepticism forgotten. It was not only revived, but freely indulged in, delicately by Montaigne, boldly, learnedly, and theologically by Bayle, so as even to necessitate his removal from France, which only permitted the indulgence of skepticism in a disguised and jocular form; but in the profane times of the later Stuarts in England, and during the whole of the eighteenth century, a succession of writers of high standing in society did grievous execution on the faith of the church, and produced such an atmosphere of devotional coolness or frigidity in the country, that, had it not been for the awakening voice of John Wesley and the other ministering spirits of Dissent, the icebergs of the Establishment might have become impassable to the Northwest Passage of civilisation. This roused it, and the American and French Revolutions alarmed it, and inspired it with new vigour.

The revival of Greek philosophy was not destined to be fruitless. After reproducing Greece, the modern philosophers began to exercise their own talents in the invention of systems. Their course of Greek philosophy had its natural result in the appearance of modern original philosophy, to supply the deficiencies discovered successively in the Greek systems. Therefore system after system arose, and

theory succeeded theory, and each ingenious mind attempted the vast and impracticable task of explaining all things by some clever hypothesis. Des Cartes amused and captivated the whole of the western world with his novelties; so that his views of the universe were taught throughout all Europe in the schools as an indispensable branch of education. Leibnitz followed his example in Germany, with much distinction, till the simple and solid basis of natural philosophical reasoning, suggested by Bacon and illustrated and established by Newton in the North-west, appeared to be the final foundation of naturalism. It still survives to show its superiority over every other physical system that has been suggested in modern times, chiefly because it is not so much a system as a principle of growth, which modifies and rectifies itself according to circumstances, and does not bind itself to any articulated formula, which it must support at all hazards, in spite of evidence. It is a system of development, not an established system; and therefore it is a system of life and growth, without the apparent possibility of decay. It is doctrine resting upon facts.

England appears to be the tropic of materialism, from which it returns with new vigour to proselytise the world; but the mental philosophy of the national era belongs chiefly to the ultra-Protestant school of Germany and Scotland, especially the former, which has surpassed all other nations in the boldness and acuteness of its

metaphysical analysis. Favoured by the circumstance of its political division and the suppression of political discussion in small states, and a corresponding liberty of theological and philosophical inquiry, the healthy vigour and amazing perseverance, and devotedness to abstract investigations, of the German mind have become the source of almost all the new theoretical ideas which preserve the life and variegate the controversies, moral and religious, of modern times. Germany thinks and France popularises. Everything that shakes the old world appears to find its parentage in the North of the continent. There the Reformation and all its roots and ramifications may be found. There the philosophy of the French Revolution may be sought ; there socialism ; there modern neological mysticism and inward-lightism. There Paracelsus mystified physics with metaphysics. There Boehme mystified metaphysics with physics. There, at least in its northern suburbs, Swedenborg, gifted with open vision of Heaven and Hell and the Spiritual world, entered them all and described them to men. There Mendelssohn, Plattner, Meister, Zimmerman, and others innumerable, spun the threads, and Kant wove them into his "Criticism of Reason ;" and Jacobi and Herder overleaped the Roman wall of Kantism into Faith and Feeling. There also, Fichte doubted of everything but himself. There Spinoza thought and reasoned as a believer in Universal Providence ;

and Schelling spiritualised, enlarged, and exalted the idea, and harmonised the two principles of spirit and matter, and taught the belief of "God in History." There, also, Schellingism split into two, and brought forth Okenism and Hegelism; one giving the precedence to the material and the other to the spiritual pole, satanising them both after Schelling had reconciled them. And all the world listened to these men, or to those who have, consciously or unconsciously, learned from them. There Gall and Spurzheim studied the analogies of mind and matter, and measured the capacity of the one by the form of the other in the human head, and shook the empire of old metaphysics. There Mesmer uncovered, in part, a mysterious and powerful secret of nature revealed to faith, but not yet reduced to the rules of science. There Hahnemann spiritualised medicine, as Fichte matter, and reduced its principle to an Epicurean atom, in which the Schoolmen prove that the whole Deity exists. It is a wonderful laboratory of thought, that old enemy of Roman Unity—that hereditary Dissolver of old systems. Scotland occupies a smaller and less distinguished place; but the blood of the Northern stream of anti-Romanism is perceived in its philosophy, which is akin to that of Germany, in metaphysical abstraction, but powerfully checked and controlled by the Evangelical and Presbyterian spirit which was banished from France, and which constitutes the peculiarity of all Protestant Puri-

tanism, and forbids any great, or very perceptible, departure from Pauline theology. But the names of Reid, and Adam Smith, and David Hume, and Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown, can never be forgotten in the history of moral and metaphysical philosophy, though not distinguished by any of that daring originality which characterises the German School. The English Locke is true to the mission of the church and state nation, with a strong material basis.

Such adventurous minds as the Protestant regions produced could never be permitted in Catholic Italy and Spain ; but less dangerous revivals were continued in Italy, under splendid patronage, in Papal regions. The fine arts flourished under the munificent patronage of rich laymen and ecclesiastics. Taste was cultivated in language, in poetry, in form and colour, in music. The whole region of art was free. It seemed as if Providence, by an act of impartial justice, had divided the gifts of genius when he divided the empire of the Church, and given the artistic talent to the Catholics, and the logical analysis and the sciences to the Protestants. England was poor artistically in the fine arts ; but it brought forth a Bacon and a Newton, and revolutionised the material philosophy of the world. This was analogically true to the leading principle of the Drama ; and, had the spiritual and catholic feeling and devotion of the Middle Ages been transferred to England, in the

artistic genius of a Da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, a Raphael, a Correggio, Giorgione or Titiano, we should have lost our reckoning with a false chart of the line of progress. The different nations are true to their respective geographical positions. Italy remains the mother, the soul, the nursery of the fine arts; and the devotional feeling which she inspires into her works of taste in sculpture, painting, and catholic (not national) music, is the true representative of that *Mediaeval Mother* to which she is nearest allied, and in whose bosom she almost still continues to live. But the devotion soon began to decay; and, as it does not belong to the new age, the decay was accompanied with a decline of the higher branches of art, which followed the movement North-westward, and came down to earth, and by degrees employed its genius in representing homelier subjects than those of the great ecclesiastical artists, and at last descended through France, in Holland or Lowland, to kitchen and barn-door and cook-shop scenery, but, at the same time, to landscape—the field of liberty—in which department no artists have more distinguished themselves than those of France, Protestant Holland, and England. This is the natural course of an artistic pictorial movement. It is from the ideal or devotional to the material and natural or sensuous catholicity. Landscape is the analogue of naturalism and materialism; ideal and devotional art is not. The revival of this, there-

fore, in any materialised country, is a natural impossibility. The inspiration is wanting—the appreciation is wanting. The soul of every artistic age is in the popular atmosphere; not in the dead imitation of ancient art. We are now in the age of landscape and portrait and animal painting, and popular engraving, in all which England, as the terminus, has attained great excellence; but if ever the ancient soul of art be restored, it must be preceded by the restoration of a unitary faith and a catholic—that is, a common devotional—feeling.

Italy has much to be proud of in art; and, even in her decline, she still preserves the prestige which she has deservedly gained. She still shows what the Church has been, and what that catholic and sacred feeling which the Church, even in her humiliation, ever best represents, may yet accomplish. The artistic genius which appeared at the epoch of the Renaissance, in a few individuals, in great splendour, and afterwards distributed itself amongst their humbler imitators, was the immediate offspring of the Catholic times. Its decline, if decline it be, is the consequence of nationalism and materialism. Great men appear in small numbers at the end of one Era and the beginning of another, and exhaust a subject in the full and rich apprehension of it; their successors can only cultivate and ramify the idea. But this ramification is not a decline. It is only the multiform aspect of the original catholicity. Though there

are no Da Vincis, Raphaels, or Michael Angelos now, either in Italy or England, there are such innumerable ramifications of artistic talent and taste in almost every well educated family, that the apparent decline is in fact a multiplication, a spreading out, and universal distribution of the original genius. We have lost the parent root ; but it is only under ground. We have boughs and twigs and leaves in abundance, that are more than compensation for the loss that is vulgarly and unwisely deplored ; and there never was an age in which works of art of high character were so extensively distributed as now, by means of engraving, in which we have attained to such perfection in England, that Raphael himself would be astonished and delighted at the beautiful reproductions of his own works, in a style surpassing his own most romantic anticipations. All progress advances in this manner from the root to the leaves—from the centre to the circumference—from the unitary and central to the multiform. It is generation and multiplication. It is not decline, but growth interminable, going through its successive and various phases, from the individual to the universal, and so beautifully just, that, whilst we enjoy the fruit in the West, we look back to the East with reverence for the parent stem.

Even amongst the most heretical nations also, Italy still preserves her catholicity in music. Her musical drama has at last superseded the national

dramas of all countries. The Italian Opera is everywhere a more fashionable, magnificent and expensive place of amusement than the Intelligible Theatre. It is the Theatre of the Feelings—the Devotion of the National and the Natural Era; and Italy has made a compromise with humanity, and agreed to humour it, for the sake of preserving her devotional ascendancy. She will not readily part with her Catholic mission. If it fails her in religion, she will recover it, and preserve it in passional attraction, and she still maintains in part that ubiquity of influence which she claims as her due, as the mother of civilisation. This musical aggression is the growth of the last three hundred years, and now the precedence has been recovered or attained, and compensation is made to her, in the sphere of art and feeling, for what she has lost in philosophy and wealth and temporal power. She feared the intelligence of the new Era, but she gave it its first impulse. Her academies of science were the first in Europe: she revived the mathematical and demonstrative and physical sciences. Even a Roman Bishop wrote the first modern tragedy, and a Cardinal the first modern comedy.* Italy was behind in nothing until she became alarmed at her own enthusiasm, and then she accepted the æsthetics and the taste of the new movement, in strict analogy with her spiritual character. And who shall say that she

* "Sophonisba," by Tressino, and "Calandra," by Cardinal Bibiena.

has lost any happiness by the choice she has made, or that her people would have been better or less miserable if the land had been studded with cotton-mills and blast-furnaces, and the churches ramified into chapels and meeting-houses? Of the possible consequences of a free philosophical career she had an alarming experience at the commencement of the Era. There, more than in any other land, the symptoms of reviving Greek and Roman Literature were fearful. The excitement was greater amongst Italians than amongst any other people. Paganism itself appeared to be succeeding in destroying the faith, and supplying its place with Greek and Roman mythology. Learned men and ecclesiastics were in the habit of calling God the Father by the name of Jove—God the Son, *Æsculapius*—and the Blessed Virgin, *Diana*. Even Statues of *Cupid* were placed without offence in the churches as representations of the God of love; and passionate and sensuous excesses were degrading the Priesthood in the eyes of the people; the mortality of the soul was taught by some, the transmigration of souls by many; and a Christian Council of the Lateran thought it prudent to decree that these doctrines, as taught by Pagans, were false, and that the study of Pagan Literature by young ecclesiastical students should be confined to a period of five years. There was a moral necessity for checking the movement, and when gentle means failed, they became less gentle, and at last forcible, and the Congregation of

the Index was established in 1554 to maintain a vigilant supervision of every species of literature and check its luxuriance on catholic and mediæval principles. The metropolis of the Church accepted thus the mission of the Restoration of art; but she trembled and shrunk from the consequences of a free philosophical and scientific inquiry. This attacked her stronghold and exposed her weakness. Science is analytical, Art is not; and therefore free thought and scientific and philosophic ardour naturally sought a more genial soil, in which to develop themselves. This they could only find by going North-westward in the zodiacal course of the Sun of Civilisation.

Happily there sat on the throne of France, at the epoch of the Reformation, a man as if created on purpose to point out to France the destiny before her. Gay, chivalrous, intelligent, witty and energetic, Francis the First was by name and nature the very type of the Frenchman; and he did not hesitate which of the two missions to accept, when the world was divided between the Protestants and the Catholics. He loved every species of elegance and splendour, cheerfulness and good living. He loved the indulgence of the old church and the example of the princely and magnificent Pope, who himself was a member of a noble house, a *bon vivant* and a sportsman, as well as a scholar and a gentleman. What other choice could a true Frenchman make when the new Lutheran and Calvinist

manias were overrunning the kingdom, and converting a gay and a jovial nation into sombre, austere, dogmatic and intemperate theologians, and making the streets resound with hymns and psalms and musical prayers, from the private dwellings of the citizens, and setting up a new and unheard-of thing in the land, an army of theological disputants determined to carry with rigorous measures, as Calvin the Frenchman did at Geneva, a revolution in the Church before they had discovered a sufficient authority to preserve unanimity amongst themselves? The Reformation in France was Presbyterian and Republican from the first, like Dissent in England, its representative at last. The King saw the danger to crowned heads as well as established creeds, and therefore decided at once; and though his own sister was one of the new faith, he burned the Protestants without mercy, dipping some of them in the flames at the end of long beams, and then raising them up again in fearful alternation, thus prolonging their torture until they were consumed—a stern example which did not fail to be followed by future princes in the perpetration of every variety of cruelty, as well as a mean and tantalising persecution—till at last, after repeated proscriptions of the most diabolical character, and massacres which defy the most barbarous ages to produce their parallel, the resolute and determined Protestants were finally subdued and banished from France,

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precisely at the time when the spirit of Protestantism discovered a home in the North-western extremity of the Roman Empire, and established the Protestant Constitution of England. Louis the Fourteenth and France rejected and cast out what William the Third and Great Britain accepted; and this fact determined the ultimate destiny of the two nations, after a hard struggle in both of 150 years; and the result was, that France should accept the leadership of the philosophical Renaissance, and England be acknowledged as the home of the Reformation.

This was analogically correct, because the Renaissance, or the Revival of Literature and the refinements of social life, is an earlier movement than the Reformation, and is, in fact, the parent of it. Had France accepted the Reformation, the revival of the social and refined arts would probably have been checked, for the early Protestant Reformers were too exclusively bent on a religious revival—a revival of primitive doctrinal Christianity—to give much encouragement to artistic talent, accomplishments and social etiquette. But as these accomplishments and this etiquette constitute an important and inalienable part of civilisation, there was a moral necessity for the *rôle* which France accepted in the Protestant controversy. The world has gained more than it has lost by the peculiar line of conduct chosen by the Franks at that important crisis. For, by becoming

a leader in the movement of civilisation, untrammelled by a National Church, and unimpeded by a popular theology, and ever maintaining the Protestant principle of the supremacy of the temporal power within the national dominion, the central and centralising nation has developed, in the fullest and the freest manner, the idea of a political Protestantism and a philosophical Catholicism, preserving only, in the true spirit of an old Greek philosopher, the name of the national religion, without possessing its absolute faith. This cold and indifferent profession of religion, without or with lax faith in it, always was the characteristic of philosophy. Too cool to be zealous, enthusiastic, or fanatical in religion, too undecided, skeptical, or pantheistical to have a special religion of its own—self-confidently supposing that the populace, or the barbarians, require a religion, whilst the philosopher is placed far above the necessity for such a motive of action—it quietly and good-naturedly indulges the popular faith so long as that faith is willing, in the persons of its representatives, to hold out the hand of good fellowship to it. This was peculiarly the case with the leadership in France, during the whole period of the Renaissance, and even long after the reign of Louis XIV; for the clergy, the nobility and the *Beau Monde* were in good fellowship and understanding respecting literature, philosophy and the arts. Montaigne very early pointed the way to a philosophical

skepticism ; and from the Priest Rabelais, the most obscene, absurd, and at the same time witty and popular writer that ever wielded a French pen, who was a prebendary of St. Maur, in the City of Paris, and had the cure of the souls of the people of Meudon besides, down to the Abbé Raynal, who became a professed philosopher when he was tired of the restraint of being a professed Jesuit, there is a creeping and a struggling philosophy perceived in the successive generations of French Ecclesiastics, and a faith and a profession asthmatically grappling and wrestling with that philosophy, with scarcely breath in their lungs to support their existence. Even the Jesuits in France were noted for their classical attainments and their profane studies, as well as for the salutary arts of casuistry, by which they reconciled the desires of the flesh with the censorship of the conscience in the palaces of kings and the mansions of the rich ; whilst they made atonement for their political indulgence of sin in influential quarters by a zealous, an arduous and self-sacrificing apostleship amongst the poor, to whom they preached the faith of obedience and resignation with the majestic severity of a Bourdaloue and shared alike their poverty and their sorrows. Such two-sided apostles let philosophers alone. They did not fear them ; they even allied themselves in friendship with them ; and thus, whilst French Catholic policy was energeti-

cally employed in suppressing the avowed and honest, but bold and resolute, enemy of a principled sectarianism, it was nourishing the viper of Greek Philosophy and individual judgment, which pointed at last to the total abnegation of religion, and the substitution of an unprincipled satire and ridicule, or a bewildering naturalism, in its stead.

All the arts had a downward tendency from the sacred to the profane, from the religious to the classical. The theatre, at the time of the Reformation, was sacred and mystical in France. The *Confrères de la Passion* performed the sacred dramas of the Old and New Testament, and even exhibited the crucifixion of Christ on the stage. These were accompanied by Moralities, in which abstractions, such as the World, the Flesh, the Spirit, Faith, Heresy, Industry, Idleness, &c., were personified after the fashion of the Early Greek Dramatists, who, indeed, were disguised in such Christian masks. But common sense and good taste suppressed the one, and the Parliament the other, in 1548, forbidding the *sacred* and permitting the *profane*! Our own Shakespeare was then alive; and, gifted with a full measure of inspiration from the Dramatic Spirit of the age, was similarly engaged in secularising, Protestantising and unconsecrating the Drama, and remodelling it on a plan which was destined to hold a distinguished place until the end of the Era.

Shakespeare's, however, was not a classical but a romantic Drama ; and though more natural and spirited, more variegated and universal, and far more exciting to a reader or a spectator, it was less chaste and delicate, less choice in its characters and language, than that which the Genius of France, inspired by the Classic Spirit of Greece and the Augustan Age of Rome, preferred ; and to this day the French regard our illustrious Dramatist as a barbarous poet ; whilst the Duke de Broglie informs us, that when Shakespeare's "Othello" was produced, in a French dress, in Paris, it was necessarily curtailed ; for even the police would have interdicted the appearance of Bianca, a common strumpet, on the stage. The French Drama, as represented by Corneille and Racine, is purer than ours, as represented by Shakespeare ; and if, as a nation, we can blush like Gibbon, we may blush to hear that Dr. Blair, in his "Belles Lettres," though naturally predisposed to find fault with France for its infidel tendencies, has acknowledged that the most moral and therefore the purest of all Dramatists is the Prince of Infidels, the French Voltaire, who, more effectually than our own Gibbon,

"Sapped a solemn creed with solemn sneer."

The French Drama corresponds analogically to the Greek and Roman architecture, elegant and chaste, but uniform and tame, and not susceptible of great variety of character and expression. That

of Shakespeare corresponds to the Gothic, which is almost infinite in its resources, and combines the melancholy of the tomb with the lightness, the gaiety and cheerfulness of the ball-room, with all the intermediate degrees. France, the leader of the Literary Renaissance, went headlong, and almost blindfold, into classical veins of art and fancy; whilst England, though led in part by the French example, as taking the precedence in all the profane departments of intellectual activity, has preserved her fidelity to her old Gothic muse, and, in company with Germany, a kindred spirit, is now reviving the Gothic architecture, which France entirely rejected when she took up, in the Renaissance, the classical mission of *Grecia Rediviva*.

No institution has been more influential in France than the Stage. It was so in Old Greece, and is so in its Western counterpart—Greece revived, but Catholicised. During the Great Republic there were as many as forty Theatres in Paris at once. The average now is about twenty, with a revenue in total of nearly half a million sterling. In 1845 there were 320 Theatres in France, all in imitation of the Parisian models, forming the taste, the mind, the spirit and manners of the French nation, and acting the part of a classical Church, expressing popular feelings, conveying new thoughts clothed in mystic poetry, groping its way amid the dark and undefined griefs and wishes, doubts and fears, of a yet undeveloped condition of society, suggesting,

rebuking, censuring and approving, revealing and discovering, and thus feeding with ideas a people's mind, like a plant, with soil and climate, trusting to nature for the fulness of the harvest at last. In no country in the world has such a popular system of cultivation of the masses been conducted; and therefore, notwithstanding the nominal monarchy of France, it is the true representative of the Popular or Numerical Era, as its final ebullition at the critical termination of its leadership will evince.

As a popular School of the masses also, the philosophy of the French is eminently idealistic, and therefore catholic. Science is a trade, a profession, adapted for the few and unsuitable for the many. The people want large and comprehensive ideas, or groups of ideas, political, social, moral and practical, not minutely chemical or mathematically demonstrative; and especially in France, where the Social Spirit is eminently developed, will this characteristic of the popular mind reveal itself. Hence we find the demonstrative and physical sciences growing up with vigour and health in the North and North-west of Europe, whilst France was engaged in listening to the vague but systematic generalities of Descartes and Malebranches, or contenting herself with the easy and elegant flirtations of Montaigne. Gessner, Copernicus, Keppler and Leibnitz in Germany, Huygens in Holland, and Newton in England, had taken the start of the French philosophers in matters of fact, before their most

illustrious naturalists appeared ; and though Paris took the lead of all Cisalpine cities in the establishment of an Academy of Sciences, and gave the most liberal encouragement to science throughout Europe, and latterly produced most illustrious men, such as Buffon, Lavoisier, Laplace and Legendre, D'Alembert, St. Hilaire, Cuvier, Arago, it is a curious fact, that of all the great astronomical discoveries of New Bodies in the Heavens, the satellites of Jupiter, the ring of Saturn, and twenty-seven asteroids between Mars and Jupiter, not one of these has been made by a Frenchman, though one of the asteroids was luckily discovered in Paris by a German artist looking out of his window. Leverrier, like our own Adams, discovered the new Planet Neptune ; but he did it ideally, not optically ; and this one fact is beautifully characteristic of the whole nation, which is eminently ideal, and possesses the highest capacity for arranging and classifying facts, and logically deducing the cause from the effects. Hence arises the rare talent of making readable books, and reducing the chaos of historical and scientific matter into composite order—a faculty which has been eminently useful in preparing the mind of the leading nations for the ultimate result of all educational progress, the centralisation of all the facts of Nature and Providence in one great harmonic unity, in which the infinitely varied antagonism of the minor parts becomes compatible with the wisdom

of the whole. This talent also is in perfect harmony, if not identical, with the wonderful aptitude of the French for massing and receiving collective inspiration in revolutionary movements, a peculiarity which may be regarded as the true representative of the Numerical Spirit of the Fourth Act of the Great Drama, and strikingly illustrative of that Catholicity which France has preserved in name, though the Priesthood of Rome are evidently doubtful of the existence of the reality; for it is the opposite pole of the Catholicity of Rome, the one being the Church, the other the State. In England we shall find these two in closer approximation, but not one. Union, or communion its better half and its multiplying bride, is the End.

SCENE THIRD.

THE REFORMERS; OR THE RESTORERS AND TRANSLATORS OF THE
OLD WRITTEN WORD.

Innumerable efforts had been made at a Reformation of the Roman Church, before the cup of its iniquity or the evidence of its incapacity was full, or the circumstances of the times had prepared the material for conducting the meditated attack with success. It wanted especially the revival of Literature and a knowledge of the Greek language as means of instruction, besides the accumulation of

ecclesiastical corruption, in all its possible aspects. These were all found, and the train admirably laid, for the explosion, in the time of Luther. Erasmus, a Dutchman of remarkable talent, wit and learning, the most illustrious literary man of his day, unwittingly and undesignedly prepared the way for the Reformer by his free and sarcastic exposures of ecclesiastical enormities and popular superstitions, and by his Greek and Latin New Testament, Paraphrases and Commentaries; so that the monks, in after times, when the magnitude of the New Spirit of the Age had alarmingly increased, were in the habit of saying that Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it. Erasmus was a philosopher, and therefore true to the philosophical maxim, that if the light be increased, the darkness will disappear of itself. But Luther belonged to the sphere of Revelation, which is absolute and combative by nature, and averse to all compromise. Erasmus temporised; Luther did not. Philosophy always does temporise; Faith never.

Luther was a man of faith from the first to the last, and went to Rome in the spirit of Roman adoration, but was shocked at the fearful profligacy, infidelity and barbarism of the Holy City—"a city," as he describes it, "full of horror and murder, an abyss from which all sins proceed." So that when the infamous Tetzels afterwards appeared in Germany, collecting money for the luxurious Pope and his extravagant sister, and the new Church of St.

Peter, by the sale of indulgences, for sins committed or intended to be committed, the soul of Luther was fired with indignation, and he boldly withstood the profane and presumptuous absolutism of the Roman Church by the assertion of a higher than Papal authority, and the declaration of a right of individual judgment upon matters of faith. Having asserted this right, he proceeded to exercise it; and the consequence was, that he and the Reformers who supported him successively cast off all the peculiarities of Paganism, and much of the absolutism and superstition which the Church had contracted during the Middle Ages. They commenced a revival of primitive Christianity—the Jewish Christian Mission in the same sense as the Renaissance was a revival of the Greek Pagan Mission. The two movements were perfectly analogous, and together constituted a return of humanity to the East whence it came. But the Renaissance is first, and also in the direct line of movement; for, in travelling back to the East from Rome, we first pass through Greece before we come to Palestine. The Renaissance therefore preponderates and is the true name of the age which Protestants call the Protestant Era.* It was the Mission of the Holy Land that Luther and the Reformers embraced, and

* There is also a Renaissance of Roman Law. But this being a universal or imperial Principle, resolves itself into the political history of the Era.

their lives were devotedly spent in determining what that mission really was, and in defending each article of the original faith in succession as they discovered it.

This liberty very speedily led them into difficulty; for, however absolute the Bible may be in its general character, a provision for the exercise of the free or the human element is abundantly introduced into it, by means of mystical and indefinite phraseology, upon every doctrinal subject. One controversy rose up after another, and men were so delighted with the new and the free exercise of their intellectual talents, that the charities, the virtues, and the graces of religion were very speedily regarded as matters of inferior consideration to doctrinal points of Scriptural authority. The doctrine of justification by means of an accurate or critical faith, became thus the rallying point of the Protestant Reformers, and so positively bent were the Protestants in general upon establishing this important and peculiar feature of the Reformation, that even our own English Church, a moderate Reformer, does not hesitate to assert that works, however apparently good, that are done without faith, have in them the nature of sin. This, however, only led to further difficulties; for, since Faith alone justifies and saves without good works, and even "shutteth them out from the office of justifying," the devils must all be justified and saved,

for they believe! This doctrine they could not accept, but how to overcome the difficulty they knew not. The third part of the Church Homily on Salvation, after enumerating all the leading doctrines of Christianity, thus proceeds—"These articles of our Faith the Devils believe; and so they believe all things written in the New and Old Testament to be true, and yet, for all this Faith, they be but Devils, remaining still in their damnable estate, *lacking the true Christian Faith.*"

A very remarkable confession! A man also, as well as a devil, may believe in all the articles of the Great Municipal Church or the National Churches, their Apostolical succession, their divine ordination, and their Baptismal Regeneration in its natural or non-natural sense—he may believe in the whole of the Scriptures *verbatim, literatim, spiritualim*—and he may believe in anything else that you can specify in the form of an article of faith, and yet he may lack the true faith; for without charity faith is a spurious article, a tinkling cymbal, a drum. This indefinable character of Saving Faith gave great cause of contention, for they had not a heart for the charity; and to this day it cannot be determined what saving Faith is; for, though Faith in the Son of God be essential to salvation, yet the Son of God is the Word, and though that Word be the Word made flesh and blood, yet it is such flesh that we must eat it, and such blood that we must drink it, and "wash our robes and make

them white in it." And all this a man does with wisdom when he finds it. Wisdom, therefore, is the Word, and the Word is Wisdom.

The beauty of Revelation is its difficulty. It is the riddle propounded by the great Samson to the Philistines, and they cannot solve or even make a strenuous effort to solve it, without application to his Bride, without a deep and a searching investigation of every susceptible shade of meaning; that is, an application to Reason in matters of Faith. She is the Bride of the Divine, the Humanity of the Divinity, the Logical Principle, the multiplying Spirit. This exercise of mind is man's education providentially ordained and conducted by means of a mystical word in Revelation as well as in Nature—a word which may be translated into an infinite number of lower meanings, like a poet's analogies, but only one highest. That one highest is the top of the pyramid and last discovered. We need not wonder, therefore, that the Reformers did not reach it. They could not. If any man had discovered it and taught it at the epoch of the Reformation, he would have been persecuted by all parties. There is a time for everything; and it is an act of supreme folly to teach the truths of the differential calculus to a novice in arithmetic.

Faith naturally comes before charity—because charity is the fruit, the end and object of the whole movement—and being an intellectual principle, critical and controversial faith, or justification by it, was

in admirable analogy with the philosophical principle of the Renaissance that accompanied the Reformation; for, though the faith of the one and the philosophy of the other did not agree, they both exercised their critical faculties vigorously on their own respective materials of thought. Their disagreement only added to the number of discordances belonging to the era of universal analysis and disintegration. But there is a striking family likeness between them, notwithstanding their disagreement; they are both controversial and conflicting, argumentative and doctrinal, and reveal themselves rather in forms of speech than in actions of love. In actions of love there was little, if any, difference between the Catholic, the Protestant and the Philosopher. The difference revealed itself in a creed or a form or a scholastic sentence; and thus the Protestants were compelled by the law of necessity to regard the principle of faith as the distinctive difference of the two Churches; and as this revealed itself only in an intellectual form, their door of hope became thus intellectual rather than devotional—philosophy in Christian orders, gowned, surpliced, and banded. Charity was not altogether disowned: it was admired at home, but forbidden to go abroad, where men were devils and the Pope Antichrist. Whatever other forms the Protestants may have rejected, their whole system was based on intellectual forms of doctrine. Charity does not hold a place in a Protestant creed or

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confession or article of faith. It has nothing to do with it. Protestantism is intellectual, as a system of creeds must be, and as all that characterises the National Era is. We do not blame it for this : it was a necessity. But a war system cannot be the reign of peace. Faith is not final ; Charity is.

The denunciation of the Pope as Antichrist was also a necessity for the Protestants. Without this the movement would have been arrested, and we might all have been living at present in the Middle Ages. He who sat on the Rock and dictated to Christendom, must either represent Christ or Antichrist ; there was no alternative ; at least no popular alternative, that would address itself with power to the hearing ear. It was, therefore, a doctrine as characteristic of Protestantism as justification by faith : perhaps more so. It was the doctrine that desecrated Rome, and made every vilification of her system justifiable. It split the mountain of the Church, like the mitre, into two. It crossed the two swords of Peter and Paul, and it crossed the two keys, and made the one shut what the other opened. Protestants are less familiar now than formerly with the Antichrist controversy, and, in general, they smile at the very idea of it. But the present spirit of Protestantism could never have effected the Protestant Reformation, nor delivered the human mind from the bondage of Rome. Men of stern and combative spirit were wanted in fierce and persecutive times ; and such men, and their

doctrines, must be judged by the standard of their age, and the necessity of their position. It is a poor philosophy that judges of a hero of the sixteenth century by the standard of the nineteenth. The hero of an age must use the weapons of the age ; and the greatest men of the epoch of the Reformation were the men whom Drawing-room philosophers affect to despise, or classical moralists condemn as indiscreet. But Wisdom is justified of all her children ; and the wisdom of Knox, in destroying the idols and denouncing the Antichrist, is evinced in the fact, after three hundred years' experience, that no nation has ever been thoroughly Protestantised without following his advice. But the thorough Protestantising of the nations was not wanted, and therefore there was not a Knox in each of them. Scotland was Protestantised, not by any superior merit or devotional religion that she possessed, but by the necessity of her position. Human merit must sink into nothing in the magnificent arrangements of the Divine Drama.

What the Reformers did they did by necessity, and the combination and resolution of the different forces acting and reacting on each other. The majority prevailed, and took possession of the civil power ; the minority bided their time. But the majority imagined that they could settle the question for ever, and so they established it by law—contradictory laws : they did not know that they were beginning a progressive Era. They thought

it possible to fix a doctrine till the day of judgment, and they tried it; and the Roman Catholics also tried it; and thus we see a revival of the old Councils of the Early Greek Church re-establishing the faith of the people, and fixing it for ever! During all the Middle Ages the Roman Faith had never been fixed. It was growing and increasing in doctrines, rites and ceremonies, saints and objects of worship. But now the time was come for stopping or checking the growth of all churches, that science, philosophy and the arts might have their free scope. So, without knowing for what great Providential object, and without perceiving the Dramatic reasons, but merely obeying the law of necessity, the Council of Trent sat and settled each article of the Roman Faith, and concluded every one of them in succession with a curse, inspired by Judgment and untranslated by Mercy, upon its opponents; and the new creed of the Pope appeared with twelve new articles added to the old one—a double creed, or two horns to the unicorn; and Luther drew up the new creed of Turgau, and Melancthon the new creed of Augsburg; and Synods and Convocations and General Assemblies sat and drew up Articles of Faith, Liturgies, Catechisms, and Confessions—all operations of the Multiplying Spirit of Development, but each mother with a Son, and Son only; mothers many and sons many—*commanding* the same to be received at the point of the sword, or, as the Scotch Confession of Faith expresses it, on pain of

being "punishable as rebellers and gainstanders of the same." We do not blame them for this. The times required it, and the Council of Trent made it an act of necessity, by the fearful spirit of coercion which it recommended and the curses it employed at the end of each of its articles. They are merely a scale of Oriental Absolutists desolating the East, which is Theology, that the West, which is Nature, Science and Art, might be cultivated for a season and grow into repute.

These Ecclesiastical Councils were not the cause of peace, but division ; and the sword of strife did not even wait till they had finished their sittings. Blood flowed, and rage boiled, and martyrs burned and expired on the rack, and the strong persecuted the weak and the many the few, and success and failure succeeded each other in long and hopeful and hopeless iteration, and the tide of the great spiritual and mental movement flowed and ebbed ; and at one time the old Church was almost triumphant, at another time almost at the brink of destruction. Now Providence seemed to be with one party, now with the other. At one time the image-worshippers, at another the image-breakers, prevailed. One party burned and tortured with diabolical cruelty ; another banished, imprisoned, or confiscated in return. One was more fierce, another less fierce, but all were warm and impetuous and cruel with zeal and faith ; and it was not till after a hundred years' ineffectual efforts to suppress the

Protestant liberty, that the Catholics, after a series of unexampled cruelties, which exceed those of Pagan Rome either with Greeks or Christians, were compelled to admit the political existence of Protestant nations on the Continent, by the peace of Westphalia in 1648; and even then the massacres were not completed; but the Protestants were violently hunted out of the kingdom of France, at the end of the century, and driven on in the line of Progression with the spirit of industry and liberty that distinguished them, to their final destination in Holland and England.*

It is a splendid but a fearful struggle, and the result was a division of the great arena of Christendom into two characteristic parts—a South-east and a North-west; the former adhering to the principle of Roman absolutism, the latter to that of a freer development; and, by the greater lenity of the Protestants in the treatment of the Catholics, the latter have been permitted to mix

* England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and America are much indebted to the French for banishing the Protestants, though they did it cruelly. They came over here in great numbers, and brought many of the useful arts along with them, and secrets entirely confined to themselves. They brought over silk-weaving, and established the Spitalfields colony, the manufacture of taffeties and sailcloth, calico-printing, fine white paper manufactures, fine linen-weaving, tapestry, fine hat-making. This last was so effectually banished from France, that it was only at the end of last century that it was recovered by stealth from England. So that English Industry dates its birth from French Protestant immigra-

themselves up with the Protestants in the free countries ; whilst the Protestants have been denied even a home, or a grave, in the most rigid and plutonic regions of Roman despotism.

A special class of phenomena appeared in England, where the Reformation flowed and ebbed like the tidal ocean, in a manner which greatly displeased its friends and abettors, as well as its opponents. But the ways of Providence, too vast and slow and comprehensive in their innumerable convolutions to satisfy the impatience of the living generation of men, never fail to convince the intelligence of the future generations of their wisdom, so soon as they are understood. Had Protestantism met with unqualified, uninterrupted success in England or elsewhere, the success would have been tantamount to a change of Providential measures, unaccompanied with any moral or intellectual instruction. It would have been merely an upshot. Not so is the world governed. How-

tion, all of the Evangelical and Republican type. About thirty thousand refugees settled about Longacre, Spitalfields, and the central parts of London. They long preserved their French names, and even language ; but at last, during the Revolutionary war, they resolved to disown their country, and the greater number translated their names into English ; as *Le Maitre* into *Masters*, *Leroy* into *King*, *Tonnelier* into *Cooper*, *Loiseau* into *Bird*, *Lenoir* into *Black*, *Leblanc* into *White*, *Lejeune* into *Young*, &c. Their descendants have also attained to honours ; as in *Lord Rendlesham*, *Sir Samuel Romilly*, *Bishop Magendie* of *Chester*, *Layard* of *Nineveh*, *Labouchere* the statesman, as well as wealth amongst the cotton lords of *Lancashire*, and bankers and merchants of *London*.

ever strong the faith of Reformers that God was with them, the faith of the Catholics was equally strong, and justified by facts, that He was on the side of the absolute, conservative principle. God is universal. He is on both sides of every debatable question. He is both in the desert and in the field; for wherever there is a portion of truth He is there; and He cannot forsake it, nor leave it utterly desolate. Now, no cause is without a portion of truth; hence the moral necessity for fluctuation, and the ebbing and flowing of success and failure in all great controversies. Henry the Eighth slowly quarrelled with the Pope, and secularised the headship of the Church of England. The clergy quietly submitted. Here was a great fact, revealed at once—the submission of thousands of clergymen to the Royal will in spiritual matters. Henry wanted a new wife instead of his brother's widow, whom his conscience disapproved of when his heart had ceased to love. The question of his divorce was tried by all Christendom: some approved, and some disapproved; and the Pope would have consented, had the Emperor, the Queen's nephew, not threatened him if he did. Here was another great fact, a simple moral question, which the Christian Church could not solve. The king chose his own judges, and found them prepared with Scripture and logic. He became a special absolutist, and burnt those whom he called heretics, and tortured them also, and his clergy

approved. Here is another fact: Protestants persecute also. Henry dies, and leaves six hundred pounds a year to say masses for his poor soul, which seems to have had little hope; and his son, a boy, succeeds. The Protestants are triumphant: they make a new liturgy, convert the mass into the communion, and write out articles that the people must believe. Here is another fact: people must believe Protestant articles. The young king dies, and his sister Mary, with Spanish blood in her veins, the very type of Popery, succeeds, and annuls all that was done in her brother's name. Popery is restored; the tide ebbs; and now the Protestants *must* believe something else. "The woodcock was caught in his own springe." They suffered manfully and courageously; but thousands complied. Indeed, the submissive clergy very generally complied, except those who had taken wives, and could not. Only nine Bishops resigned. These were great facts. But the trial was mercifully short, under such an Inquisitor as Mary. She died, and her Protestant sister succeeded. The tide flowed again: what was the result, when the oath of the Queen's Supremacy was tendered to the clergy? Out of 9,400 of "Bloody Mary's" beneficed clergymen, only 192 refused to take it. Here was another great fact. All Mary's Bishops refused but one, and they were turned out. The Articles of the Faith and the Liturgy of King

Edward were then revived ; and the people were again told what they must believe, and how they must pray. And then the people began to grumble at the *must* ; and the sect of Puritans arose, who refused. These were the free spirits, once more rebelling against the absolute in civil power. But they had an absolute of their own, which was very dogmatical and peremptory, and a sanctimonious cant that caused an impious and blasphemous reaction in the Restoration. This became Popish, and sensual, and repressive, and created another reaction, in which Dissent, one of the legitimate forms of Protestantism, was legally permitted to develop its principles in the Protestant Constitution. Thus the tide went on rolling and ebbing, and exposing thus the weakness and the strength, the sincerity and insincerity, of all parties, revealing the character of each separate principle in a manner which could not have taken place without these alternations. They show us which party, and therefore which principle, is most cruel and implacable, which most conducive to political liberty, private morality, and the exercise of private judgment, and, at the same time, expose the false pretensions of each by showing each in power attempting by force to suppress the other on a graduated scale of ferocity ; the Roman Catholics being the most ferocious in the use of torture and fire ; the Puritans the most acrimonious, troublesome and sanctimonious in respect to the

petty details of dress and clerical vestments, church forms, and private manners; and the National Churchmen, fond of ease and willing to compromise, particularly anxious to get rid of both extremes by means of a prudent but not a tragical severity.

England, Scotland and Ireland are a triunity, and play a peculiar part, in preparation for a more conspicuous future, when the time has come for the full development of their respective missions. England accepts in part the new ideas of Germany, but retains a part of the Roman also; beginning with the monarch and acting downwards from him upon the people, who take what they receive as a Royal gift, and are enlightened and reformed, so far as the crown permits them. Scotland, on the other hand, receives the new German ideas, not from the regal apex, but from the popular basis, the Swiss, Genevese or French form of it, and compels the crown unwillingly to acquiesce in her democratical innovations. She merely reverses the movement of England. She succeeds and becomes the only nation in Christendom that establishes a popular faith, independent of the crown or the civil power. She is, in fact, "the Theological Nation;" and this is so much the more decidedly realised when she loses her political nationality in that of England; for then she appears denuded of her temporal authority, with only her General Assembly of the Church of laity and clergy combined, and the Lord Jesus Christ as the only declared and acknowledged head of the

Ecclesiastical constitution. This is the extreme end of the Geographical Drama. It began with a Nation under the Law of Moses; it ends with a nation under the Gospel of Christ; the two antithetical ideas or polarities occupying the extreme ends, and thus representing the alpha and the omega of the entire movement of the old world. Had this Gospel nation been produced in any other quarter of Christendom, the analogical propriety of the arrangement would have been destroyed. There is only one nation in the world that could be placed in antithetical relationship with Palestine, as the free Gospel to the absolute Law, and that nation was chosen to enact the character which the simple and beautiful plan of Dramatic development required of her. Ireland alone could compete with her, for Ireland is farther west; but Scotland is farther north, and the north is opposed to Rome. It belongs, therefore, to Scotland to antagonise Rome in the north-west, and the north of Ireland sympathises with her. Ireland is more southern than Scotland, and therefore partakes more of the southern type. She is the only nation which, of its own free will, has chosen to acknowledge the Canon Law of Rome as its law of order. In Ireland, and in Ireland only, that law is the law of liberty; for the Green Isle is not compelled by political law to submit to it; and though the Protestant Church is legally established in it, the great majority of the inhabitants have spontane-

ously preferred the spiritual supremacy of Rome as their standard of moral and religious Government; that is, in principle they prefer a visible head of the Church. In this respect also Ireland is antithetical to Palestine—antithetical to its primitive and simple Gospel; whilst Scotland is antithetical to its Law; the one asserting the necessity of a new law of works, the other denying it. These two ideas, faith and works, which embrace the whole question of Christian salvation, are thus, at the extreme ends of the geographical movement, divided by popular acceptation between the two extreme nations; and such is the peculiarity of the principles they are destined to represent, by popular suffrage as the ultimate, that, had either of the two been politically strong and independent, the object would have been defeated; for Ireland shows her voluntary Popery in the very fact of its opposition to political power and a Protestant Establishment, whilst Scotland exhibits her theological character and ecclesiastical synods the more effectually that she has neither a court nor a parliament, for such temporal dignities, occupying her capital, and taking the lead of her popular customs and manners, would infallibly either have suppressed her synods or diminished their influence and conspicuity.

The political power of the three belongs to England, and this has weakened the religious or theological spirit within her. But, in this capacity,

she represents the dominant political ultimate of the movement in Church and State. She has two extremities or horns growing out of her, northward and westward; one representing the free German and another the free Roman Mission; one acknowledging only the invisible head of the Church, the other the clerical or Papal head of the Church; but she herself, unlike either, is content with the lay or temporal supremacy, subjects her own Church to the High Court of Parliament, prorogues the Convocation as soon as it meets, flatters the Bishops with a Parliamentary Peership, and makes the Church dumb. Those who are dumb are often deaf; we hope she is not.

These arrangements do not immediately take place at the commencement of the Numerical Era, but they take place in it, and they exist at present. Scotland still remains *par excellence* the theological nation without a rival; her rock is breaking up into boulders and the sand is accumulating around it, and symptoms innumerable of an end are perceptible; but still she preserves what she calls her Gospel freedom in a manner peculiar to herself, and all-sufficient to distinguish her as the Free Pole of the Evangelical magnet, whose positive pole is in Jewry; whilst Ireland is the free pole of the Catholic magnet, whose positive pole is in Rome. Even the latest disruption in Scotland was intended to give this freedom a more perceptible form, and it has taken the name of the Free

Church as its characteristic appellative. It is not more free than the old body ; but it has one or more aspects of liberty which that has not : and the disruption itself is characteristic of liberty as opposed to absolutism, which combines and unites by force. But Scottish disruptions and Scottish dissents have this peculiarity : that they all, with small exceptions, adhere to the old national articles of the Kirk, and only tend to confirm the truth of what might have otherwise been disputed, that the same idea of the primitive Gospel is implanted in the minds of the majority of Scotchmen, who differ as little about their articles of religion as Jews about theirs, and are thus both geographically and doctrinally the Christian counterpart of the Jewish nation—the Sunday nation—as the Jews are the Saturday nation. There is no better counterpart in Christendom of Jerusalem on a Saturday than Edinburgh on a Sunday. It is in fact its translation, and the analogy is remarkable in more aspects than this. Built upon a rock, like the Jewish capital, the type of that absolutism in formal observances which she unites with her Gospel liberty ; the City of David, in literal fact, as King David the First of Scotland was the first of her resident kings ; “on the sides of the north,” where the City of Salem is mystically situated, with the noblest lion in the world couching in everlasting repose before her ; not the miserable rampant lap-dog, “le petit chien rampant,” that

the grievance-agitators deplore the fate of, but a mountain lion that reaches the clouds, a statue hewn by the hand of a diviner than Phideas, and shielding the city on the South-east from that Gentilising wind which has spread over all Christendom from that quarter, and withered the foliage of its primitive Gospel—she is the Christian transcript of the old Jerusalem, the city of the Law and the Gospel. But she foolishly prefers the little rampant lion of the unfaithful Stewards to her own august couchant, the symbol of Judah. “He stooped down, he couched as a lion and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?*

But this very simplicity of Scotland, this primitiveness of her Gospel theory, the democratical equality of her church and her poverty, have not contributed to render Scotland distinguished for theological learning. Her forte lies in evangelical acuteness, critical minuteness and sharp-sightedness in detecting the creepings and artful disguises of heresy. She has rejected all the traditions of the middle ages—all the canon laws and sacerdotal developments—and with these she has cast off the literature that belongs to them, and all that pride of art in architecture and symbolism which they

* Arthur's Seat, a hill about eight hundred feet in height, on the south-east of Edinburgh, assumes, from the south-west, the sculptured form of a lion couching. The head, the back, and the tail are distinctly formed; and, with a sunbeam from the south, even the thigh is clearly and correctly defined.

have transmitted to posterity ; and her genuine, sole and sincere object has been to make, with the word of Judah's Mountains and Desert Land, a virtuous people, simple, free from expensive tastes, luxurious habits, pompous and ceremonious prepossessions, in worship : and therefore she has ever contracted her sphere of instruction within the limits of what she deems directly edifying and conducive to strict orthodoxy in faith and rigid propriety in morals. In doing this she turns round, like the geology of the island, upon the absolute, and though a free Gospel nation in name, she shows the front of an absolute Legalist in practice. This is just her mission. She is the end of the movement. Jordan turns in her and can go no farther. She is the best national illustration in the whole Christian Era of what the Gospel of Gentilism, as preached by St. Paul, can do for a people. She has done her utmost. She has worked faithfully and earnestly, and fought and bled for Pauline orthodoxy, and boldly stood up for doctrinal discourses and extempore prayers, and denounced moral sermons and legal preaching, and faithfully trusted in grace to make her wise without a moral exhortation from the pulpit ; but she has failed. She has clothed herself with the decalogue less, and the law of works and formalities more, in spite of her antinomianism. She has made her Church a Horeb and her Pulpit a Sinai, and she sits on

a rock, like the city of David, and prescribes a formalism which would become as oppressive as that of Rabbinism or Romanism itself, if it were not resisted by the reaction of infidelity, commercial prosperity and luxury, pauperism and drunkenness, philosophy and religious indifference—the sand that accumulates on her venerable mount. The Pope is powerful in feudalism and weak in nationalism. And the Scottish pulpit is powerful amongst a poor, a simple and industrious class of Bible-readers; but its weakness increases as the sphere enlarges and the materials of thought multiply. Scotland is dexterous with the Bible; but Nature and Providence are too much for her.

In England the two streams of Romanism and Germanism—that is, the Reformation—meet and compromise; and she is the only nation in which they do ecclesiastically coalesce. England, therefore, unlike Scotland, has not rejected the traditions of the church, nor the faith of lineal Apostolical Descent by the touch of Episcopal hands; nor does she repudiate the genuineness of that descent because it has come through the corrupted channel of mediæval Rome. She adheres to the belief of a vital and a Divine commission residing in the act of ordination, and rejects the idea of a spiritual commission to preach, except through that medium established by the law of order. She has also preserved many of the old forms of prayer and music, and half accepts the doctrine of tran-

substantiation from Rome by kneeling in partaking of the Sacrament of the table, instead of sitting, as in Scotland. Her clergy are political, often magistrates, and her bishops are peers and administrators both of the Roman and German or Anglo-Saxon Law. She is, in fine, a focus, in which the canonical church of Rome and the evangelical church of Protestantism unite, and compromise, and form a compound which distinguishes England from all other nations in Christendom, and invests her with a special aspect of universality nowhere else to be found. And yet that universality is national only, and more ecclesiastically imbued with the soul of nationalism than any other of the Protestant churches. France rejects ecclesiastical nationalism or Protestantism, believing that there is a principle of Catholic union superior to it. But England is exclusively national, both in Church and State.* Scotland accepted what England rejected—an ecclesiastical convocation—and thus the real action of the

* Neither the Church of Rome nor the Church of England is Catholic, in the high sense of the word; but, geographically, the Roman Church is Catholic, as claiming the globe, and rejecting national limitations. In this respect England is the least Catholic nation in Christendom. She does not even condescend to give her own Bishops in Ireland or the colonies an equal rank with the very lowest of her national own. She treats them as she treats the Scotch and Irish peers. Expedient for time, not for eternity, such a system has a successor. It is national, truly national, but its two horns are fatal to its unity.

two principles of the Church and State is divided between the two; for, though Scotland has not received the parliamentary Church of England, she has received the Westminster articles of faith as her standard; and if England herself has rejected that in one form, she has rejected her own church constitutional action in another; whilst her millions of Dissenters are better prepared to agree with the Presbyters of Scotland than the Bishops of England. The extinction of convocation in England and its activity in Scotland are more than mere facts of history: they are significant symbols of the respective amount of vitality in the two church principles; and Scotland at last becomes the ecclesiastical, whilst England is the political, pole of the island; *i. e.*, the Scotch Church is active, the English passive.

Being both nominally Protestant, there is an evident propriety in their insular unity, and there is an equal propriety in the insular separation of Ireland, as being the representative of Romansim, which is both nominally and spiritually distinct from Protestantism. This, besides its western position, is a powerful reason for the Roman element which exists in England taking the direction of Ireland. It is an alienating principle, an exclusive, an unassociating principle, and requires a corresponding geographical scene for its retreat and development; and the Irish have taken to it with hearty good will. Their subjection to England;

their distance from the metropolitan centre ; their accessibility to Roman missions ; their commercial disadvantages, preserving longer amongst them the mediæval type of living, were all more favourable to Roman than Protestant influence. But these are merely the natural means by which the plan of the Divine Drama is conducted ; and therefore, whether we reason from the original Divine idea as a positive, or the concurrent natural relationships as a negative, cause of the character of nations, we come to the same result ; for the Divine and the natural are merely the bipolarities of one harmonious agency.

Thus analysed, we find the position of England very remarkable. In the flow of the two tides of Romanism and Protestantism, we perceive that they meet in her, diverge and go beyond her, into or cross and polarise in Ireland and Scotland. In the ebb, supposing the retreat of the two currents to take place, she holds precisely the same position. Scotland and Ireland unite in her, and thus she becomes geographically, and by destiny, the spot in which the reconciliation of the two ultra principles takes place. Not victory, but reconciliation, is the ultimate ; and England is the only spot in the Western world which the Divine Drama assigns as the destined scene of it.

There were sincere and good men in all parties, Catholic and Protestant, in the great struggle of the Reformation—men actuated by strong faith and the

martyr spirit, and therefore men who were justified by their faith according to the standard doctrine of Protestantism, when *unexplained* by a critical restriction. But as Protestant Divines could never agree about this critical restriction, and as we have seen that there is none to the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the Bible, the most charitable meaning that can be put upon the doctrine is this: that whensoever a man believes that he is doing right, he is justified in his conduct. This justifies all sincere men and parties, and God himself assumes the responsibility of the Government of the World. "He bears our sins in his own body."

But the Protestant Reformation was not the Mission of Charity. It was the Mission of Faith only; and Faith without Charity is a persecutor. Faith burns Faith at the stake. Faith tears the flesh from the bones of Faith with red-hot pincers. Faith imprisons Faith, hates Faith, reviles and abuses Faith, and banishes Faith from its dominions. One Faith condemns another Faith. But not so Charity. There are many Faiths, but only one Charity, and that Charity can make all these Faiths "One Faith." Nothing else can. Hence the Mission of Faith is the Mission of Sects, and the glorious and boasted doctrine of the Protestant Reformers is the very symbol of Sectarianism. Faith will justify a man; but it will not rectify, purify or even polish him. It will leave him as bad as it found him, or make him worse or better according to its quality. But Charity always makes a man

better. It sanctifies and purifies him, it moderates and temperates his ferocity, balances his judgment, and it does what nothing else can do—it puts an end to faction. It is therefore the spirit of the reign of peace, not of the Church Militant; for the spirit of this disruptive and combative church is justifying Faith, that exculpates a man in doing what he does with a full belief in its rectitude. Justification by Faith is a glorious doctrine. But the Spirit of Charity alone can fully understand and rectify it, and therefore it has not been understood in the Protestant or Numerical and Miscellaneous Era. In that Era subdivision has been going on to infinity, and would go on to eternity, were the Era not closed by a New Epoch.

The want of this charity is the real cause of the decline of the faith. The essence of Protestantism is its bane. The antagonism of the sects is first offensive and then revolting; and men having first attacked the faith of others, conclude the Era by attacking their own. It is charity in secret drawing them away from an uncharitable dogma, in search of a better; and we find it beginning so to act just where the faith itself of the Era commenced. Germany has long been mythologised and neologised, or infidelised; and in Berlin, at the present day, not more than five per cent. of the population are to be found in a place of worship, and Sunday is neither a rest nor a holiday. What the principles of the people are

it is impossible to say ; for even the learned are bewildered in their own myths. But myth philosophers are not Believers. Charity believes. Liberals are not liberal ; Charity is. The name of Liberal, like the name of Christian or philosopher, is everywhere ; but the spirit is wanting. The one-sided, paralytic, mind is the type of the civilised man, whether we regard him as a Catholic, Protestant, Mythist, Neologist, Liberal or Infidel. These form only a graduated scale of bigotry, the difference lying in the nature of the prejudice, not in its intensity.

If Germany is mythologised in its faith, England is politicised and materialised. It calls Christianity part and parcel of the law of the land ; and its numerous sects have made the church a bone of contention rather than an instrument of moral and religious training. They all meet in politics, and there ecclesiastics are satirised and mixed up in one mess with bribery at elections, class legislation, rotten boroughs, and vote by ballot. Scotland is sabbatised and Judaised and dogmatised ; and though in principle averse to forms, they are only the forms of other people, not its own. But she is very refractory and beginning to kick. The scale is graduated in these three great Protestant lands, and the oldest falls away first, and the youngest last. Scotland is the Gospel Nation, because it is the youngest and at the end of the line ; but it is following the example and sharing

the fate of the rest; and its numerous divisions have not only lowered its faith, but destroyed even the home charity which is the sanctifying, purifying, moralising and peace-making spirit of national belief.

In this charity all are deficient. The Protestant Establishment ramifies into Voluntaryism, which is indispensable to supply its deficiencies. But that Establishment cannot receive that voluntaryism for want of charity; so it shuts it out. God gives a mission to a Wesley to convert thousands upon thousands of savages into men, and attune the minds of the irreligious and the immoral to religious and moral decency; but the Church of the State rejects Wesley, and has no place for him. Rome would have made a Saint of him. The Wesleyans themselves quarrel and separate, and have already broken the brotherhood, for want of charity, into seven divisions—seven spirits of mutual accusation. The Kirk of Scotland crumbles in like manner. Puritans come out of her and call her Babylon, and she retorts the compliment with equal justice, and each becomes “an accuser of the brethren” to the other. The Church of England miscalls her sister in Scotland, not because she has not the faith (for the two faiths are one), but because she has no Bishops. Scotland, in return, miscalls the Church of England, not because she has not the faith, but because she has Bishops, and gaudy vestments and organs, and no ruling

elders, and because her clergy must not preach in unconsecrated rooms, not even in schoolrooms, like St. Paul. Each of the two Establishments satanises the other, and the law supports them both. It is a curious fact, amongst all the Protestant sects, that, although they all hold theoretically to the doctrine of justification by faith, they all abuse each other, and break communion with each other, though holding a faith that will justify each of them. They have the same Bible, the same standard works of Divinity, literary communion with one another, but no Church communion, because they have no charity; and, though each allows the other to have justifying faith, they will not sit down together at their Master's table for want of charity, thus showing how very lightly they do appreciate the standard doctrine of the Reformation after all. In works they deny it, because they want the spirit which alone understands it. How beautifully and artfully hath God thus included them all under one misdemeanour, "that he may alike have mercy upon all!" For when He comes the second time in the fulness of his Spirit, He will come as Charity itself—"like rain upon the mown grass, and like showers that water the earth."

Then will the barren rocks be covered with aluminous earth, and the liberal sand of the desert converted into peaceful and luxuriant soil.

SCENE FOURTH.

THE ABSOLUTISTS.

Absolutism comes from the Desert, from the top of Mount Sinai, from the rock and the hard-baked earth. It is the child of the wilderness. Jewism arose in the Little Arabia; Mahometanism in the Greater Arabia—both Deserts. And each tends to lay waste the land in which it rules triumphant. "Upon the land of my people there shall come up briars and thorns; yea, upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city, because the palaces shall be forsaken, the wealth of the city shall be left; the forts and the towers shall be dens *for ever*, a joy of wild asses, a pasture for flocks, *until* the spirit be poured from on high upon us, and the wilderness become a fruitful field." Rome, which is a modified Absolutism, different from the Arabian, is also a child of the Desert; and the Campagna which stretches far beyond its walls, and the ruins which extend half way within them, illustrate the truth of the marriage union between Absolutism and the Wilderness. The absolute pushes its opposite principle before it, like a huge Rhinoceros, to the ends of the earth. It is the cattle-driver of civilisation; and liberty of thought and freedom of industry only seem to go where

this furious unicorn compels them to travel. "His horns are the horns of unicorns. With them he shall push the people to the ends of the earth." What the world would have been without it we cannot imagine : what it has been with it we know.

We know also, that, whensoever a new form of Liberty arises in the region of Liberty, a new form of Despotism rises up against it. In this world, as the son of Sirach perceived, God hath always set one thing against another, to be checked and moderated by its opposite ; and therefore we must not be surprised to hear, that, at the very moment that Luther, the Augustine Monk, was asserting the principle and the right of the liberty of private judgment, the Divine Dramatist should be secretly preparing another man of the very opposite temperament to resist this liberty, and maintain the doctrine of passive obedience, even that of an involuntary tool in the service of a superior, "like a staff in an old man's hand." It was in the South of the modern Continental Europe, the mountainous region of Despotic Spain, where this new order arose ; and it spread like an epidemic.* In sixteen years after Ignatius Loyola founded the order of the Jesuits, it could

* The South is warm, devotional, and absolute ; the North is cold, logical, and controversial. Absolutism in the South is permanent and institutional ; in the North it is not. It is there chiefly personal : it is the old clan spirit of the German nations. The Despotism of Russia depends on the Emperor ; that of Rome

boast of a hundred colleges subject to his jurisdiction, and a power that has never been surpassed by any other human organisation. It was a soldier and a reformed rake, a lady's man, who invented it; and he breathed into it the spirit of his own professional ideas of order and discipline. His Society became the standing army of the Papacy, and the dread of Protestantism, which it resisted in every possible manner; in the palaces of kings, in the confessionals of princes and nobles, in the schools of youth, in the cottages of the poor, in the pulpit and the press. It is the perfection of Monachism. Abjuring many of the offensive peculiarities of the old monastic orders—a peculiar and a degrading attire, and an ostentatious display of poverty or privation—it mixed its members with the people like detective police, without any special or distinguishing habit, and kept its hold upon their obedience by the pure force of invisible organisation. Its missions were the most successful of all missions; and its settlement in Paraguay, where the converted Indians, amounting to three hundred thousand families, had all things in common, and lived on a footing of perfect equality, every individual labouring for

does not depend on the Pope. Russia abounds in sects, shrewd controversialists, ripe for a change of master. Spain is the South-western point of Europe. West is feminine to East. Imbued with the Southern spirit, it is not only devout, but cruel: imbued with the Northern spirit, it is dogmatical and competitive.

the public, and the fruits of the common industry deposited in public storehouses, has been denominated by Muratori the Historian, "*Il Cristianesimo felice*"—the happy Christianity—a model, in fine, of that *beau ideal* Socialism which the French, in later times, but without the Absolute Principles, vainly attempted to realise in the slums and purlieus of Infidelity and Philosophy. But the Happy Christianity had no liberty, and the teachers taught their pupils, like Jews, to hate all other nations, even Spaniards and Portuguese, and avoid communion with them for fear of corruption. True to the principle of the Desert, the Jesuits fed them with manna in the wilderness—food imposed and apportioned, and, though sweet, yet cloying to the appetite—not food elaborated by human liberty, which, even though not sweet, is pleasant and invigorating.

The schools of the order also were of the most distinguished rank for discipline and efficiency. "In what concerns the education of youth," says Lord Bacon, "consult the schools of the Jesuits; there is nothing better to be found." Latin was taught and spoken in them; the sciences and scholastic theology were zealously inculcated; and the rule was, to receive new lights and new discoveries in science as they arose, and incorporate them with the old system; and to make the system as comprehensive as possible, a more stringent, besides a more free, class of rules was ordained for

different classes of scholars. The rules were wise and the discipline strict, and the result was popularity unbounded throughout Catholic Christendom. But it was something more, and what they did not expect and did not intend. These admirable schools of the Jesuits produced the most distinguished scholars and thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—men who sapped the very foundations of the system that nourished them. Poets, orators, divines, philosophers, and revolutionists, came out of them; and the one crushed, whilst the other could not defend them. Galileo, Cassini, Descartes, Buffon, Moliere, Montesquieu, Malesherbes (who, according to Voltaire, broke the shackles of literature), Voltaire, Lalande, and innumerable other names of great repute, which have been influential in forming the French character, owed their early intellectual training to the schools of the Jesuits, which may be regarded as amongst the undesigned but vigorous instruments of cultivating that intellectual activity which ultimately led to the suppression of their order throughout Roman Christendom; and immediately after, to the great subversion of all existing institutions in Continental Europe. Lalande the Atheist—the eater of spiders and other vermin (a Jesuitical graft on the Revolution)—deplores the fall of the Jesuits in affecting terms—“Mankind has irretrievably lost, and never will recover, that precious and surprising union of 20,000 individuals devoted

incessantly and disinterestedly to the functions of teaching, preaching, missions, conciliations, and succour to the dying; that is to say, to duties the most serviceable and dearest to humanity. Retirement, frugality, and the renunciation of pleasure, constituted in that society the most harmonious concord of science and virtue. I had personal knowledge of them: they were an assemblage of heroes for religion and humanity. Religion afforded them the means which philosophy cannot furnish. I was enraptured with them. When I was but fourteen years of age, I loved them to such a degree as to solicit to be admitted amongst them, and I regret to this hour that I did not persevere in this vocation, which originated from my state of innocence and thirst after knowledge."

In this manner Absolutism prepared for its own downfall intellectually: let us see how it did it politically. Spain, at the time of the Reformation, was the first political country in Europe. It took the lead in commerce and enterprise. It had discovered the New World in 1492, and was actively engaged in colonising and subduing it. Its monarch (Charles V) was the Head of the Empire—the most powerful man of his day. But Spain was devotedly absolute, both in politics and religion, and determined to maintain the unity of the faith by the shortest, the most brutal and intolerant means. It extinguished the Moorish kingdoms in Spain the same year that it discovered

the New World, and it commanded the Moors who survived the massacres to be baptised and become Christians, whether they believed or not ; and when they were converted in this Mahometan fashion (their own fashion also, be it remembered), they were called new Christians, to distinguish them from the old and true believers. These new Christians were not genuine ; and they were subjected to intolerable hardships and frantic persecutions, by the Holy Inquisition and its subservient clergy. Moreover, when the Reformation arose in the North of Europe, the Popish Absolutism of the Spanish monarch and his clergy was immediately directed towards it like the eye of a tiger on its prey. The fires were kindled immediately, and every proved or even suspected heretic was treated with merciless cruelty. Christianity was proclaimed to be a system of human sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God. Moloch was baptised, as well as the Moor, and exaggerated with tenfold enormity. Public spectacles of "autos da fe," or "acts of Faith"—justifying Faith, we trust—in which living bodies of men and women, chained to the statues of Saints and Prophets, were burned in slow and exquisite torture, were given to the people in large amphitheatres, like the gladiator and wild beast fights of the Imperial Romans ; and on the occasion of the birth of a Royal infant, a King, Queen, Prince or Princess's birth-day, or a Saints' day or holiday, the trembling bodies of the poor heretics, whose only fault was an honest conviction

that there was something wrong with the Papacy, were thus brought forth to appease the sacred indignation of the most absolute, intolerant, devout and high-principled people that perhaps ever existed. Nothing has ever exceeded the horrors of the Human Sacrifices of Spain to the Deity of Popery; for in it alone, during the last half of the sixteenth century, 47,676 victims were burnt alive or tortured to death, as a burnt-offering and sweet-smelling sacrifice to the God of the King, the Priests and the Rabble. Besides these there were 36,000 Protestants deliberately executed and tortured (18,000 of them in five years), in various ways, by the King of Spain's orders, in the Netherlands, with a ferocity that caused a war of resistance, unparalleled in history, on the part of the Dutch, who cast off their allegiance and proclaimed their independence. The consequence of this was, that the commerce of Spain was soon afterwards absorbed by the Dutch, who thus became a free people, and Amsterdam the metropolis of independent religious opinion in Christendom; and the Spaniards, still blind to the effects of this Revolution, as if determined to ensure the ruin of their nation by enforcing its absolute unity, burned, massacred, tortured, imprisoned and banished, with relentless and ruthless cruelty, all but the Papists, the true believers. "I would rather not be a king at all," said the pious Philip II of Spain, "than a king of heretics, damn them." He was sitting on a throne 2,200 feet above

the level of the sea when he said this ; and so acceptable did he consider a burnt-offering of human victims to God, that he celebrated auto-da-fes as thank-offerings, as the ancients offered sheep and oxen : in other words, he burnt poor men and women alive, to thank his God that he had saved him from being drowned in a storm or killed in a battle. There was a series of such pious Kings in Spain, as if sent on purpose to repel the Protestant doctrines, and establish the absolutism of that land which was geographically ordained to represent the principle of the Desert and the Burning Mountain. Even from the first institution of the Inquisition, the Spanish Kings delighted in the burnt-offerings. The Roman breviary is beautifully pious in the expression of its love of holocausts and human sacrifices, in the canonisation of Ferdinand III of Spain, in the Middle Ages, who "*propriis ipse manibus ligna comburendis damnatis ad rogam adveh erat*"—"with his own hands carried the wood to the stake for burning the damned." Yet this man was otherwise just and good, and conscientiously refused to be guilty of oppressing his own orthodox subjects, and took a vow never to fight against Christians, and always rode on horseback with an image of the Virgin at the pommel of his saddle, and another in his bosom ; and it is one of his memorable sayings, that he feared the curse of one poor old woman more than a whole army of Moors. Such always was the catholic and absolute spirit of

Spanish royalty; and therefore, though warned of the consequences of a violent expulsion of the Moors, they were all turned out by Philip III who were not burnt or massacred.

But in eight years after this final resolution was put in force, an address was presented to the King containing the following words:—"The depopulation of Spain is greater now than ever it was at any former period. Nothing is more visible than that Spain is on the point of falling prostrate, its houses being everywhere in ruins, its towns and villages lying like so many *deserts*." The Desert at last! Old Sinai in Arabia! the rock and the hard earth! the mountain that must not be touched! Truly they were Old Christians, those Spaniards! Old Testament Christians! and their favourite arguments in persecution were all drawn from the Old Testament models, who were ordered by the prophets to spare neither man, woman, nor child; only, the Spaniards, more merciful to children than the old models, baptised them and sold them for slaves. To this day Spain has not recovered from the effects of this ferocity, and never will till she abandons her absolutism. But then she has what she wants—the unity of the Faith, huge deserts imperfectly cultivated fields, though the richest in Europe, and depopulated cities—and she has sunk into one of the most financially hampered, though still the proudest, of the nations of Christendom.

A great national hecatomb was proposed to be

offered up to the Almighty in England by Philip II of Spain, the husband of our Popish Mary, and he fitted out the Spanish Invincible Armada on purpose to convert the English with the sword and the fire of the Burning Mountain. The Grand Inquisitor himself was put on board of the armament, and along with him the various ministers and implements of the Inquisition. His Holiness pronounced his blessing on the undertaking, and the fleet set sail under the very best auspices of the absolute faith. But Heaven itself was indignant and collected its wrath. The whole armament was destroyed, the Inquisitorial fire was quenched in the sea, and the instruments of torture went harmlessly down into the dread abyss. The elements of Nature did fearful havoc amongst the Great Apostolical Fleet, and the fire-ships and guns of the English completed the catastrophe which wind and wave had begun. It was as clear as noon-day that Mary had not ratified the blessing of the Pope. Providence was evidently of one mind, and the Pope and the Spaniards of another. But nothing will convince a believer who stands on the naked rock. So, when the elements favour him, it is Providence; and when they do not favour him, it is only the elements. And thus men become infatuated, and blindly fulfil their respective destinies. But all that happens is Providence, favourable, or unfavourable; and now that we can perceive the general rule upon which he conducts the Great Drama, we can see the reason

why Italy, Spain and France should severally and differently adopt the absolute principles, and why the Elements of Nature should resist the Armada and dash it to pieces ; for the British Islands must be, at all cost or hazard, providentially preserved in progressive Liberty, as the principal Scene of the Fifth Act of the Divine Drama.

Nevertheless, in fulfilling their destinies, it would be unreasonable to suppose that absolute countries are either worse or better than free countries in a moral sense. If they act in pure faith, firmly convinced that what they do is right, they are justified ultimately. But still they must temporally suffer the natural consequences of their conduct. These consequences, however, are very justly distributed amongst absolute and free nations. The two principles of Absolutism and Liberty in excess are equally good and equally bad : perfection lies not in either, but in their marriage union. The consequences resulting, therefore, from an excess in each, are alike deplorable. Spain has fallen into national weakness by excessive absolutism ; she has fallen into poverty and bankruptcy, but not into greater misery than England, with her populous manufacturing towns and her political liberty. The rabble of England is the greatest rabble in the world. Spain has been saved from such a misery by the principle of the desert, and by this principle of the desert she has preserved the geographical liberty of the

desert, the liberty of the Arab, the wide expanse of country and the unenclosed fields.* We have lost that liberty by having found political liberty ; and our thousands of hard-working families are crammed up in filthy streets and close factories, to breathe hot vapours and impure air ; whilst the religious condition of our lowest classes is quite as bad as either Paganism or Popery could make it. The spirit of the rabble of Protestantism is Infidelity ; of Popery, Superstition : and if Spain and Naples prefer a superstitious to an infidel rabble, they have got what they wanted. Nor does either of these nations appear to regret the choice it has made. Every animal prefers its own species.

Spain is the model of absolutism, where it reigns triumphant in the South-west of the transverse beam of the Great Cross of Christendom—the transept of the Crystal Palace of Civilisation ; but the principle is diffused everywhere in greater or less degrees. It exists in a unitary form in Popery

* Such is the liberty that surrounds the rock of Spanish absolutism, that the principal foreign trade of the country is conducted by smugglers, and the government even loses by the maintenance of its custom-houses ; they seldom pay their own expenses. Moreover, it is a point of honour in private individuals to protect the smuggler. It is wild liberty, but it is the liberty that corresponds to the sand of the desert. It is unproductive of national wealth. Productive liberty is always at peace, perfect peace, with the absolutism of the Law ; and Law and Liberty, when married, mutually strengthen each other. But they are not yet married anywhere.

and Despotism ; in a diffused form in Protestantism and Liberalism. But the amount perhaps is equal, though not alike perceptible, in each ; the one is brandy nett, the other is brandy and water. Calvin burnt one heretic, and he teased a thousand—enough to show the spirit of his dogma. The English Episcopalians imprisoned and otherwise severely handled, and even hanged, or slit the noses, of a few resolute nonconforming disputants, and they hunted the stern Covenanters of the North like partridges and grouse upon the mountains and the heather of Caledonia ; and the Covenant itself of the religious Presbyterians of Scotland enjoins “all Magistrates and Sheriffs to search, apprehend, and punish” (it does not say how, any more than the “cruel decrees of the Council of Trent”) “all contraveners,” and “to root out of their empire all hereticks and enemies to the true worship of God.” This is the pure spirit of persecution, and it is addressed to the civil power, which uses the sword and other material weapons. But this spirit, which belongs to all religious sects and parties, was diluted with the principles of Greek Philosophical Liberty in Protestant countries ; and it is to this Philosophical Liberty, rather than to any indifference in Protestantism itself, that we are indebted for the indulgence and toleration which have grown up along with it, without being identical with it ; for Protestantism itself is an absolute spirit in relation to this free civil spirit, and, in this land of Eng-

land, we find their action and reaction continuously assuming these two respective polarities ; the one tending to the overthrow of all religious combination and collective authority and moral force, and the other to their preservation. The most pious and religious Protestants are necessarily repressive, as all religion is, and ever must be ; for it is the law of order, moral and spiritual ; and the political and philosophical Protestants, who dilute the spirit, and represent the water of Protestantism, are particularly indulgent in religious matters, but become repressive in politics, and even ferocious, whenever their favourite dogmas are assailed or their purposes thwarted. These philosophical Protestants appeared in greatest number in France, where the principle was developed in all its fulness, by reason of the absence of Theological Protestantism, its natural check and compromiser ; for, finding no compromising spirit in Popery as it finds in Protestant Sectarianism, it burst its fetters and inundated the world with its deluge of innovations—the ultimates of anarchy, of social and political confusion.

SCENE FIFTH.

POLITICIANS AND REVOLUTIONISTS ; OR THE REVIVERS OF
ROMAN LAW.

We have seen the Revival of Greece and Palestine in the old Philosophy and Gospel ; but this is not enough to constitute a complete resuscitation of the

Old World. Old Roman legislation is to the States what the Roman Canon Law and its appurtenances are to the Churches of modern times, and it cannot fail to awaken into life at the general resurrection of old systems. Accordingly, we find it at the dawn of the fourth Era raising its head above the earth, and exciting the attention of the learned of Europe. It had never been altogether lost; but, like the scholastic philosophy, it was adulterated and fused with barbaric ingredients.

We have already seen, that, immediately before the commencement of the Middle Ages, and as if to mark the epoch, the Emperor Justinian ordered a compilation to be made of the old Roman Law, for the purpose of simplifying its then very multi-fold and complex details. This code was introduced amongst the Gothic nations, and by many of them received and gradually modified, as circumstances inspired, till a collection of statutes—a “jus post Justinianeum”—“a law after the Justinianean”—arose and commingled the Roman and the Northern Law over all the West. But the principles of the Justinianean Code, the Temporal Rock of the Middle Ages, were taught in the schools, and preserved in many of the municipalities, and in fact during all the Catholic Era, the civil law of the Empire, as Christianised by Justinian, was the standard of appeal for the principles of right and wrong wherever there was a regular Court of Justice. It was the Law of the schoolmen, if not the Law of the

Feudal tribes. Even the Church respected it ; but the Canon Law superseded it, as being merely the civil power. Accordingly, we find that Luther, in attacking the Canon Law of the Church, very naturally compared it with the Civil Law of the Empire, and gave the preference to the latter. It was Antipapal or Protestant policy.

But the Catholics themselves, even before the Reformation, and after it, were forward in promoting the study of Roman Law, and separating it from the mixture of the feudal elements contracted in the Middle Ages. Politiano, the tutor of Lorenzo dei Medici, commenced this work of restoration at the end of the fifteenth century. It was continued by Bologninus ; and Hoffman, a German, at last produced an excellent edition of Justinian's "Corpus Juris;" others rapidly followed, and the Roman Law was enthusiastically studied over all the Continent. In this department of the Renaissance, France and Germany especially distinguished themselves. According to De Thou, Ranconnet and Du Tillet were amongst the first to open up "the true fountains of Roman law;" and the greatest civilian of his age, "Le Grand Cujas"—"the Great Cujas," as his countrymen designate him—was a son of the political and philosophical nation. But whatever might be the real merit which Cujas possessed—and of that we do not profess to be able to judge—he was the first to direct the attention of the learned to the superior value of the law

before the time of Justinian; and to his and Ranconet's exertions the world is indebted for what, until of late, it possessed of the relics of pure classic jurisprudence. With the aid of nearly five hundred manuscripts, collected by himself, Cujas edited two collections of the works of lawyers before the Justinian Reformation, and thus opened a passage for learned men beyond the epoch of the Middle Ages, backward through Imperial into Republican Rome; and the further they went back, the more simple, beautiful and equitable the principles of legislation appeared to be, as bequeathed to the world by the early Romans. It was in law as in theology and philosophy and art: men were delighted with the beauty of the early times in comparison with the mystical complicity and paralogy of that system of jurisprudence which had grown into vogue during the Papal ascendancy, and which was partly owing to the imperialised and Christianised character of the Justinian Code, intended by its author as the Canon Law by the Church, to be the *ne plus ultra* of legislation.* Brisson, the two Pithous, St.

* The History of Roman Law, by Hugo, a celebrated modern German Jurist, is divided into four periods before the time of Justinian: first, from the origin of Rome to the epoch of the Twelve Tables, or the first written Code—the infancy of the Law; second, from that epoch to the time of Cicero—the youth of the Law; third, from Cicero to Alexander Severus—the manhood and meridian splendour of the Law; fourth, from Severus to Justinian—the old age of the Law. This leaves the Fifth Period for the Justinian Mediæval Codified Law. As Hugo, however, Von Savigny,

Jory, and Labitte, Denys and Jacques Godefroi (father and son), were all French Jurists of distinction; and Pothier is so highly esteemed by the French in general, that many believe that he has not only reaped, but gleaned, the whole field of Roman jurisprudence, and left nothing more for others to do; and by means of his treatises on legal subjects, which are still republished in popular and cheap editions for the benefit of the people at large, he was instrumental in introducing many of the forms of old Roman law into the French tribunals.

Germany and Holland also produced a series of eminent Jurists, and in later years have much distinguished themselves; but they are chiefly remarkable for giving a new development to the study of Roman Law, and growing out of it that modern branch of the old root which has been denominated the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations. This is the Type of the Universal Law. The old Romans had their "jus civile," or their own municipal Law; and as their empire increased they added to it their "jus gentium," or Law of Nations, for foreigners. But as foreigners in their estimation were subjects,

and other distinguished German Jurists, have decidedly raised their voice against the principle of Codification since Napoleon's attempt to improve upon the Justinian Code, he regards the latter in the same light as many regard an Established Church—as a barrier to improvement, by presuming to foresee the ultimate of every question, and leaving no room for future development. He advocates historical development.

the "jus gentium" was not adapted for independent nationality or international Law. However, it was the root of it. Though "the Law of Nations" was suggested by Gentili, an Italian Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, it was reduced to the form of a Science by Grotius, a Dutchman, in so masterly a manner that Sir James Macintosh says of his great work on "War and Peace," that "it is the most complete that the world has yet owed, at so early a stage in the progress of any science, to the genius and learning of one man." Puffendorff, a German, and Vattel, a Swiss, followed in the same path, and all three still remain distinguished authorities in that department of Universal Law which is supposed to be applicable to the relationships of nations with each other, and to the solution of those problems which affect the natural rights of man, independent of National Legislation. In other words, it is the new Catholic Law of the National Era; but it is called the Law of Nature, because this National Era is a Naturalist, a student of Nature, and affects to discover its supreme authority in the Natural rather than in the Divine. We have already seen the reason for this. Its natural Law, however, is vaguely supposed to have the force of divinity; and it has that force when the controverting parties agree upon its meaning; otherwise not. The propriety of this Law receiving its birth or development in Germany or in the North-west is evident. Let us now look at the French development.

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France is the Catholic Temporal Nation, and, like the old Empire, a monarchy capping a republic. It tends to pulverisation in respect to spiritual authority, and to socialisation and centralisation with a temporal nucleus, if it can find it. Its object from the first has been to socialise itself. Its philosophers, its wits, its lawyers, Rabelais himself, a Priest, prepared them for it, from the first of the National Era. The work of the age was the culture and the ripening of this very idea in France. We have seen the French Lawyers begin with Justinian's Imperial Code, then proceed beyond it to the ante-Imperial or the Republican Law, delighted with the inquiry; whilst the Kings and the Priests, poor souls! encouraged the study and feared not the consequences. What did the people care about such things? They were merely studies for learned men. But fruit ripens on literary trees, as well as on apple-trees; and the time at last came for the Republican or Greek municipal form of the Law of Old Rome to ripen. So long as Jurists wrote for lawyers only, it was well with the old aristocracy and the Priesthood; but when Montesquieu appeared with a new and popular view of the subject, and wrote upon the "Spirit of Laws," neither for Statesmen nor for Lawyers, but for the public, and impregnated the mind of the French people with the ideas of Liberty and Equality, suggested the division of the supreme power into Legislative, Executive and Judiciary, and cunningly insinuated that virtue was the soul

of a republic, and *honour* of a monarchy—that it was very difficult for men to be good under a monarchy—and that Christianity was better adapted for Monarchies than Republics—he laid an egg that was hatched by the Revolution.

Voltaire and his friends took up the idea, if they did not suggest it; and the cunning philosopher persuaded or encouraged the Minister, the Marquis D'Argenson, to devise and recommend the system of departmental divisions and subdivisions, leading to a restoration of the old Municipal System of the Roman Empire and the Greek States, partly realised in the Great Revolution. The purpose of this was to weaken the power of both monarchy and aristocracy by means of municipal or at least provincial governments, on the principle of popular self-government, as in part realised in England.

What Montesquieu did not express, and probably did not think, Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his "Social Contract," did. A Presbyterian Swiss, from the French Canton of Geneva, he ever preserved his relationship with the Church of Liberty and Equality in Ecclesiastical government, and derived great comfort occasionally from taking the Sacrament in John Calvin's Church. D'Alembert, writing to Voltaire respecting Rousseau, says—"I pity him, and if his happiness depends on his approaching the Holy Table and in calling holy a religion which he has so much vilified, I own that my esteem is greatly diminished." But Rousseau was

the avenging spirit of the Evangelical Protestants whom the monarchal France had massacred or banished, and he came to pulverise the rock which had crushed his progenitors. He had the blood and soul of the Presbyterian in him; but he was drunk with vengeance, and he had, according to his own confession, imbibed with his mother's milk the hatred of kings, and nourished that hate and kept it warm for every other species of government in the world. He declared, that, though man was born free, he was everywhere in chains. And the great social problem which he attempts to solve is, "to form an association in which each individual shall *only obey himself*, and remain as free as before the union, and yet be protected by it in person and property"—a nice problem—the atomic theory of Legislation! "Down with the rocks! up with the sand! up with the dust!"—"A bas les rochers! vive le sablon! vive la poussière!" Sovereignty he found in the Collective Unity, the People; each atom free, loose; no cement, or not perceptible; bricks without mortar. This is the ultimate, the Negative Pole. The difficulty is to make it unitary. On paper, however, Jean Jacques did not see much difficulty. So on he went, and being gifted with great eloquence, he delighted his readers, and became the Soul of the coming Revolution. He realised the sovereignty of the people in theory, and left his disciples to reduce it to practice. He even went as far as Papal Rome in the antithetical dogma of Col-

lective Unity; for, as Rome asserts the infallibility of the Unitary Pope, so Rousseau asserted the infallibility of the People. They are always right! always mean well! they can never be bribed, and can never bribe! and yet they may be deceived; but even when deceived, it is expedient for their good and they are still infallible in that expediency! How to determine what the people wills, however, is the difficulty; for a majority is not the people. Five hundred and twenty out of a thousand leave four hundred and eighty, and eight hundred out of a thousand leave two hundred. How is the will of a people to be determined? Not by suffrage, for that leaves a minority, which is not represented, but subdued. It can only be determined by acclamation, and then one man represents it, and he is the individual representative of the Dividual unity. But this comes back to monarchy and despotism, as French popular politics naturally do. Human mechanism cannot realise the idea: God alone can. However, God is ejected altogether from the system of French Political Philosophy. As Lamartine says, "The Government of the World by God is a dream; its government by man is a reality." He and the French have not yet proved the truth of these words; but in the meanwhile this is the ultimate to which the Temporal Catholicism of the Central Nation tends by fatality; not by merit or demerit, but by preordained necessity, following the principles of the Divine Drama in the geographical ar-

rangements of Nations. Rousseau's atomic system looked so much like animalism, and so quadrupedally did the eloquent enthusiast defend a life of extreme simplicity and artless uncultivated nature, that Voltaire said to him, "When I read your book, I long to walk on all four." It was a system of animal universalism, of which the French took as much as they could get at the Great Revolution, when they adopted the system of *morcellement des terres*, or the division of the land into little conacre farms, which impoverish the rich without enriching the poor, and which neither provide sufficient nourishment for the body, nor food for the mind, but satisfy that passion of the French for the earth, *la Patrie*, which is in France a worship.

This pulverisation of politics was naturally averse to the unitary ideas of religion as taught by Rome. It was the temporal form of Protestantism without the name. But the same hatred was felt against the Roman unity. How to attack it was the difficulty. It must be done, however, not as in Germany with faith, but philosophically without it; and Voltaire was anointed to the office. A wit, a poet, a dramatist, a philosopher—the first literary man of his day—the private correspondent of almost all the Sovereigns of Europe (the Emperor of Austria, the Empress of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Naples, Poland, and Sweden), and of Princes and nobles without number—an exile from his country (in Geneva too,

ominous for France!) because of his principles—and yet the pride of the nation, and the idol of the great, the learned, and the unlearned, because of his talent—his books condemned by the Parliament to be burnt for their heresy, and his plays delighting the Parisian public with their elegance, their spirit, their wit and liberality, and his principles privately circulating throughout France, and accepted even by those who condemned him and punished him for his imprudence in revealing them—there was only wanted such a man in France to break the fetters of hypocrisy that bound the nation to the forms of a Creed that it did not believe. The great object of Voltaire was political liberty and natural Religion—that is, Religion without Revelation ; for he did not regard Revelation as a natural phenomenon or providential agent. “It would be strange,” said he, “if five or six men of talent and learning could not do more than twelve uneducated fishermen.” Strange enough, if the fishermen were not possessed of an absolute principle, and the philosophers had it. Ten Jesuits began the Society of Jesus, and that Society never numbered more than 20,000 men; and yet it held in bondage millions. Lover of Nature as Voltaire appeared to be, he did not understand the simplest law of nature, or he would have known at once that an absolute principle alone is a ruling principle. But great power was given him; and he was even permitted, by his

influence with Sovereigns, to be the instrument of suppressing the Jesuits throughout all Christendom. The blow was important, as it took the Schools and the Universities out of the hands of the most powerful of the Priests, and prepared the laity for superseding them. The shock was felt so severely at first in the want of teachers, that an immediate effort was made to recal them ; but the philosophers succeeded in defeating it, and boldly proceeded to their next step—the destruction of the monastic orders. This was more power than the fishermen of Galilee possessed ; for they had neither Kings, nor Princes, nor Priests, nor great men to assist them. All was hopeful to the renowned correspondent of Princes, the exile and conspirator of Geneva ; and having extinguished the Jesuits, *as he imagined* (for they actually disappeared), the next important step was the destruction of the rest of the Religious Orders.

In the meanwhile the people were helping him. The old Grecian mysteries were revived. The doctrines of natural religion and natural equality were inculcated in Free Masonic Institutions, whose very nature belied the principles of equality that they taught ; for they were organised on a graduated scale of doctrine, on which the initiated rose by degrees from the lesser to the greater mysteries, till at last they reached the Rosicrusian, and the Restoration of the unity of God, and the dethronement of Him who had dared to trinitise

him. He (the Trinitiser) was distinguished by the name of "The Wretch;" and "écrasez l'infame," or E.L.I., became the motto of the order and the secret symbol that Voltaire made use of in all his letters to his confidential correspondents.

Exile as he was, Voltaire ventured to appear in Paris in his old age, and no conqueror was ever received with greater honours than this proscribed Infidel Conspirator. He was intoxicated with flattery, buried amongst bouquets, and died of the excitement. He was the Guy of the Revolution, and he had laid the train; he escaped the explosion. His mission was legitimate, and it was spiritual—in French, *spirituelle*. He had used no violence, nor any instrument of war. He had suffered imprisonment in the Bastille, been proscribed like a heretic, and banished like a martyr; and he was refused even a grave at last, amid all his honours, by the Archbishop of Paris; but he was buried in consecrated ground notwithstanding; for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" and his bones and Rousseau's at last lay together in the central vault of the consecrated Pantheon of Paris—the two idols of the Revolution. But they did not agree in life; neither did the Revolution agree with itself. It was a Simoom of the Desert—an Epicurean concourse of atoms.

The elements of the Revolution came from the South-west of France, the department of the Gironde, the birth-place of Montaigne and Mon-

tesquieu, where the traditions of Liberty and the Roman Forum were still perpetuated at the bar—a commercial and industrial department, flat and modern in its geological character. Lamartine wonders at the circumstance of the Revolutionary movement commencing here, and not in Paris, by the formation the Girondist Party. The government of the world by God will explain this: its government by man will not. It was rather the impassioned eloquence and force of the movement that resided in the Girondist Party. They attempted first the establishment of a monarchical democracy, and then of an aristocratical democracy. The logic of the Revolution was reserved for the Jacobins, whose ruling spirit was Robespierre, from the Pas de Calais, the North-west of the kingdom. To the South-east and the Jura Mountains belongs the absolutism of the Revolution, as represented in the war-song of the Marseillaise, written in the mountains and sung by the Marseillaise band, when they marched, like furies, to Paris, screaming for blood. Liberty has long been regarded as the child of the mountains. It is also the child of the desert; but it is not the liberty of progress. The Swiss were the Janissaries of Europe during the whole of the Protestant Era. They were the active instruments of the Kings, of Popery, and the Pope himself, in repressing their subjects; and fearful vengeance was inflicted upon them in the day of

retribution. But if Berne, Zurich, Geneva, &c., in the North-west of Switzerland, be found exceptions to the charge of unprogressiveness, it will also be found that they rest, like the cities of progressive regions, on modern deposits of tertiary strata—the nurseries of modern times.

The French Revolution was a whirlwind of principles—an eruption of enthusiasm—as if the conflicting opinions of the universe were concentrated in a focus, and railing at each other with glaring eyes and clenched fists. Men were mad with zeal, cruel with suspicion and fear, drunk with rage and revenge, and irresponsible with all. It was the heat of a battle. We have no right to condemn, but merely to describe. We must not reproach with cruelty or bloodthirstiness the soldier in action who cuts to pieces every man whom he meets in the uniform of an enemy, or who exults, with a loud and ferocious laugh, in the stab and the stroke with which he dismisses the souls to hell, and tells them to say that he sent them thither. It is the Demon Spirit of war—a moral epidemic—that seizes men in the days of Revolution, and converts the mildest into savage, irresponsible monsters. Who more gentle, amiable and disinterested than Robespierre by nature? Calm, dispassionate, vain and desirous of pleasing and being pleased, he shuddered at blood, and refused or abandoned a lucrative office rather than be compelled to pronounce a sentence

of death ; yet this man, in the vortex of the Revolution, as the Leader of the Jacobins, was the impersonation of relentless death in the Reign of Terror. He always feared and shrunk from the necessity ; but, like the soldier in battle, he yielded to the impulse, for he knew that to turn his back or to hesitate was death to himself and party. The thirst for blood had become a religion. The Marseillaise Hymn, the offspring of the Jura Mountains and the war-song of the Marseillaise Band, the despotism of the Revolution, that met the logic of the North-west and the eloquence and enthusiasm of the South-west, in Paris, and completed the Reign of Terror, was the favourite psalm of the democratical zealots, who sung it in the churches, and compared it, in sanctity as well as in spirit, with the Psalms of David ! It was the song of the nation, and it called for Blood, and that so imperiously, that the call for blood is the chorus of the song. On all subjects the mass of the people were divided ; but on this they were unanimous. Royalists, Constitutionalists, Republicans, Jacobins, Cordeliers, Feuillants, the Mountain and the Plain, were all of a mind in respect to the necessity of bloodletting to cure the disease, so soon as they were called upon to prescribe for the patient. And what mattered it whether a Jacobin, a Girondist or a Royalist used the lance, except that, in the wise ordination of retributive justice, it was better that they

who once inflicted cruelty should now suffer it, and that the men who had lately, with heartless ferocity, massacred and exiled Protestants and hunted the Cevennese, like foxes, on the mountains, for merely holding a Scriptural faith and who burnt old women alive on suspicion of converse with the Devil, should now be treated as devils themselves, experience a like persecution, and drink the cup which they had prepared and administered. All were tyrants, and all in succession suffered. It was the reaction of young, impassioned, and inexperienced Lynch Liberty against the twisted cord of temporal and spiritual Despotism; and Liberty became unwittingly a despot herself, a fierce libertine, in struggling with her enemy. All extremes are monstrous. Law and Liberty are the moral, as oxygen and nitrogen the physical, atmosphere of society; whilst each is death to the lungs in a state of separation. This truth the mad libertines did not well understand; and in the natural order of progressive education, they adopted the wrong before they discovered the right solution, forgetful of or not believing that best of all precepts—"Be not overcome of evil, but rather overcome evil with good." But men who took their lessons of morality from Greeks and Romans, and not from the mystic words of the Great Teacher, were neither prepared by faith nor by circumstances for adopting a maxim so sacred as this. It is

the maxim of a final crisis ; and theirs was only penultimate. Another mission was in the womb of Providence, and the maxim was reserved for more critical circumstances and a more decisive struggle. Yet Marat the Swiss, the most hideous monster of the Revolutionary trio, had always a New Testament lying on the table before him. He found his own justification in the volume : he picked out the passages that served his purpose, like other sectarians, and thus appeased his conscience. All, indeed, were men of Faith. It was an Era of molten faith—an eruption from the burning mountain of political Faith—the Republican terminus of the Renaissance of Roman Law.* The Revolution and its principles were divinised ; Christianity was suppressed ; Paganism was reinstated ; men were deified like the ancient heroes ; the Almighty was defied, and challenged to prove his own existence, and the monster Marat deified in his stead ; Mademoiselle Maillard worshipped as the Goddess of Reason, and a whole nation deprived of Reason and committed to a Bedlam. Greek and Roman models were omnipotent ; Decemvirs were appointed ; the Directory assem-

* It ought to be remembered here that English Law is not based upon Roman Law. Our Common Law belongs to the Northern stream of civilisation. We have Roman Law in our Ecclesiastical, Military and Admiralty Courts ; for everything belonging to the Drama meets in England. But our politics are not Roman in spirit, and therefore could not produce a Revolution of Roman Republican versus Roman Imperial policy, as in France.

bled in Roman togas. The Revolution became a religion. The people worshipped it with tears of joy and hearts overflowing with philanthropy and vengeance; and whilst they called for blood, and even dared to drink it, it was the blood of the foe, which forbade the realisation of their paradise upon earth, the political redemption of man without a Divine Redeemer. "The government of the world by God," says Lamartine, "is a dream ; its government by man is a reality ;" and they sought the reality, but never found it; for man has never yet governed the world, though Lamartine says he does, nor ever will until he understand the Providential plan, and co-operate with God. Till then, he may devise and scheme, resist and prosecute ; but every party must be defeated ; for good and evil are in all parties, and therefore all must both succeed and fail. Parties are only fresh water rivers : they find their destiny in the ocean at last, where they all agree. Robespierre thought he understood God's plan ; but faith without charity understands nothing in universals. It is a specialist—a corruptible river, not an incorruptible sea. Charity is the ocean that embraces, interprets and purifies all. Had Robespierre known God's plan, he would have known this : that that principle that uses the sword shall perish by it. But he was uncharitable, and therefore mad. Nothing but charity can balance the mind. When we say Robespierre, we mean

the Revolution ; for he personified it. It was a splendid ideal with innumerable beauties and virtues, but possessed of a devil ; and being dyed in blood, the logic of its principle determined to complete the analogy of the movement, and consigned it to the dictatorship of a Professional Phlebotomist. Then the nation was apparently satisfied. The Man of Blood was their idol, for they themselves were men of blood ; their King David beloved of God, and the Child of Destiny, for such they esteemed themselves. Their pyramid was raised with a soldier on the top of it, for they were soldiers. *Stet nominis umbra*. Once more it is finished ; and yet it is not done. A Legislator is wanted ; but not without a sword.

Proud as the French are of their Revolution, they are prouder of Napoleon. He is their *beau ideal*. The Revolution is a dream ; Napoleon is a reality. Robespierre personified the Revolution ; Napoleon finished it. They worship the finisher, a Mediterranean islander. It was a lawyer who made, a soldier who broke, it. Which would you rather worship—a lawyer or a soldier ? They prefer the latter, and with good reason ; for, though law is better than war, yet they themselves are better warriors than lawyers ; and Napoleon was greater in war than Robespierre in legislation ; for war is national, but law is universal, and finishes the Drama. Napoleon was the Son of the Revolution, Robespierre was the Revolution

itself. Robespierre was generous, disinterested, honest and poor: he lived and died in poverty. The Revolution made all men poor; for it divided the land amongst the people, and spoiled the nobility and the gentry. It levelled all ranks, and whilst it lowered the highest it elevated the lowest. Napoleon restored as much as he could the old inequality; first, by enriching himself, and afterwards, by bestowing the prizes upon soldiers, who, though they did not make the Revolution, yet, being its agents, they nationalised it, gratified its patriotism by conquest, and at last enjoyed the best fruits of it. It was a combination of generous, but undeveloped and conflicting, principles with military force; and the principles having failed for want of unanimity to universalise themselves by logic, the Force took advantage of the reigning confusion, and assumed the dictatorship. Force then became a Lawyer, and produced a Code of Laws. But force is not necessarily a Lawyer; and power may exist without the legislative genius. Whether that genius is or is not developed in the Code of Napoleon we cannot affirm. But every one knows that it has not settled the great question of Local and Political Reform, and that is enough. It is not "The Finisher." It is not the Law of God. The Jews will not accept it. The German Jurists have rejected it, and the principle of Codification along with it, and the nations which have accepted it as their standard of justice have more than once

rebelled against it, and still contemplate another attempt at what they regard as emancipation from bondage. The Revolution and its Hero are both perfunct. But the world is still expecting another deliverance, still groaning and waiting, though unconsciously, for the manifestation of the Sons of God, who alone can realise their fondest hopes, but still valiantly attempting by force and petty scheming to do the Devil's work, as if they believed, with Lamartine, that a divine government of the world was a dream, and their own a reality. But a soldier is evidently not the man to satisfy the wants of an age like this; though, being the best type of order that society contains, he is, though an absolutist, a popular favourite; for all, even the Rabble, are Absolutists, and like to see their enemies confined whilst themselves are free.

Of the greatness of Napoleon no reasonable man can doubt. He was a great Providential agent, and the best fitted of all men for performing the part of the Drama assigned to him. Perhaps we are not yet sufficiently distant from the time in which he lived to form an unprejudiced opinion of his character and mission. But we can perceive that his idea of Government made no intelligible reconciliation between absolutism and liberty. Pretending to base his own authority on democracy, he extinguished the democracy and left it only a name. In the great Drama the municipal or parliamentary government by chosen representatives of the people is the

type of Liberty, its cradle and source. In Napoleon's France there is only one man and the people, and this one man has unlimited power of meddling, appointing, discharging and suspending—an oriental system that reminds one strongly of the the mountain and the sand. There is too much dependence on the will of an individual to be permanent. It is meteoric in principle, and therefore ephemeral. There is a natural and legitimate sphere for the absolute, and also for the free ; but if the absolute is a fallible and perishable individual, instead of a Divine Law, and can trespass on the free, or the free on the absolute, then the problem remains unsolved, and we have not yet balanced the two scales.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL AND
PRECEDING MISSIONS.

We now begin to discover the principle of the Divine Drama. It was impossible to have any idea of it before the close of the Fourth Act. It is now so apparent that very few scientific principles are more so.

The Drama began with separate or isolated missions, mere simples. The Hebrew Mission was isolated, and even commanded to keep itself distinct.

The Greek Mission was isolated, and the Greeks

called all other people but themselves Barbárians, as did also the Jews.

The Roman Political Mission was isolated at first, but being also the syllogical or gathering and constructive mission, it first coquetted with the Greek philosophy and art, and subdued the country, and then it subdued Palestine, and comprehended the whole territory of civilisation within its Empire.

Here was a union of the three original simples in one Empire. They were mixed, but not combined or associated. The associative principle was wanting.

The associative series is a new order of things. It begins the Christian Era—a new world—and instead of coming out from Rome the city, it comes out from Rome the Empire, in the scene of the first mission, going back to the East and recommencing on a new Principle; and all now from first to last is Roman Imperial. The Jewish Gospel begins the new and associative Drama, as the Jewish Law began the old; but instead of interdicting alliance with the Gentiles, as the Law did, the Gospel encourages alliance, blending the two races of Jew and Gentile into one people by a principle of faith—a new principle of generation and kindred. This new series being based on an entirely new principle—a feminine principle of multiplication—and being to the old Jewish Law what woman is to man, has its own dramatic arrange-

ment. But its mission is confined to the Mediterranean or the Roman world. Hence *Gentile* Christianity has never been able to exceed this limit. America is merely a colony of the Roman world. The few missionary settlements in other parts are of no account. The North of Europe is the only apparent exception; but the North men are themselves an integral part of the new civilisation, or the *orbis Romanus*.

The New Christian Drama has first its bondage under the Roman Law; then its Exodus, when it escapes from the bondage, marries the Roman Law, and subdues old Paganism in name, but adopts it largely in practice. The result of this commixture is the Church of the Middle Ages—a unitary compound, a Leviticus, with its Aaronic Priesthood, on the Vatican or the Prophet's Mountain; and this Church, supposing itself to be the final, as it has gathered up the old, endeavours to solve the Great Problem, beginning from Rome the City, for the first time. Hence the necessity for a Providential cutting off of the two Eastern portions of the Empire; for the work is not yet central, but progressive, like a river, not an ocean. The New Trilogue of the West is the new Theatre of Civilisation, as the Trilogue of the East was the old; and Rome is the first of the new, as it was the last of the old; and it has become to the New Trilogue what Palestine was to the first trilogue, with this difference: that having the associative or multiplying feminine prin-

ciple of the Gospel Hebrew Mission, it has the proselytising spirit in great perfection, attended with great success within its own Imperial diocese. The Hebrew idea is revived in Rome, but no longer a simple; it is a compound; woman is in it, but not yet free. It has been forcibly made up of three simple missions of the old world. But being the beginning of a new Trilogue, as well as the end of an old one, the religious or the spiritual aspect necessarily takes the precedence. Hence the necessity for the spirituality of the Middle Ages—Aaronism.

After the Middle Ages comes a divisional or numerical mission like that of Greece after Judea; for unitary and divisional, like odd and even, follow in succession.* But it is no longer a simple Greek Mission as before. It is a compound mission, but being analogous to that of Greece, the Greek philosophical, controversial, divisional and artistic spirit prevails and characterises it. The elements now become innumerable; old elements are multiplied indefinitely, and so singularly and incongruously twisted together that they can be neither

* There are only two primordial principles in the Drama; a unitary, or male, and a divisional and productive, or female. The third is a unitary or male offspring; the fourth a divisional female offspring; the fifth unitary again, &c. This is time, or successional reign; but when they agree to reign together, the successional series ceases, and the central system begins. This, instead of moving in one line or direction, radiates from a centre, and is the oceanic or universal.

combined nor separated. There never was in any former period of the world's history such mental activity, division and anarchy of opinion, and sectarian hatred, persecution and religious alienation, as in this intellectual Era. It is hopeless, inextricable confusion, as the fourth act of every well constructed Drama ought to be. There is no conceivable mode in which the elements do not antagonise. Geographically the South-east is absolute and the North-west free; but the absolutism of the one has a large amount of Liberty, and the Liberty of the other a large amount of absolutism. The Geographical Division is not the real Division, and therefore the question cannot be settled by a fight of soldiers, as geographical questions naturally are. The absolutism and the liberty exist in men's minds, dispersed throughout Christendom; and it is there, in the mind, that the final battle must take place. Christianity is mixed with philosophy and literature; ecclesiastical Law with civil or Roman Law; even the clergy pride themselves more in their classical, scientific and philosophical than their theological learning. Literature, which is a purely Greek mission, takes the lead in the Press; and its mission is legitimised by the patronage of all classes of Christians. It is impossible to find one of the three simple and original missions in a state of purity. Even our Bible Christians are not free from the taint of literature and philosophy; and our literarians and philosophers are obliged to do homage to

the epithet of Christian. And yet this union, which is inseparable, is not communion. To use the language of Chemistry, a combination is not effected; and to use the language of domestic life, the primary elements and all their family live in one house, but not in harmony. To accomplish this harmony is the great problem of the Drama—Communion—or a higher order of union—collective union, as opposed to artificial or mechanical union. To this the mission of the sword is inadequate.

The geographical question, however, is a part of the whole question—the soldier's part; and not being final, it comes before the final. Now, the great question between Absolutism and Freedom is a question between the East and the West, the North and the South. We have seen the Imperial temporal power driven to the North. Russia is to the Eastern what Germany is to the Western Empire; therefore these are two of the five Great Powers of Europe. But the Western Empire is divided into Catholic and Protestant; therefore Germany has two of the Five Great Powers, Austria and Prussia, as it represents a Double Empire; the former claiming the East with its double eagle, the latter not. France, being the central nation, is another of the Five Powers; and England, being the ultimate, or the Scene of the Fifth Mission, is the Fifth of the Great Powers. There is a Dramatic and analogical reason for each being what it is, and for the temporal power going

Northward, and the industrial Westward. The struggle, then, between Russia and the West for Constantinople, is merely the temporalised aspect of the old struggle of the two Churches, the Greek and the Latin ; for Russia belongs to the Greek, and the other four to the Latin, Division.

But a new element is come into the question. The Divine Unity has possession of the old Levantine East. It is desolating it, as the Absolute Principle without the free element always does ; but there it is, and it is an important element. There is a Providential Mission in it, and a power connected with it that does not appear on the surface of Levantine Society. It is deeply seated in the soul. Russia would subdue it, and introduce her painted gods ; Rome would fain subdue it, and introduce her painted and carved images ; and England and France would fain take it under their protection, and introduce their commerce and their licentious habits and customs, and pollute the sanctity of the Desert and of the land that is now enjoying her Sabbaths undisturbed by either plough or harrow. If they succeed, what will they substitute for the unity of the Desert but their own divisions and subdivisions, rivalries, controversies, sects, hatreds, devilries, fooleries, knowledge, reading, writing, printing, and enlightenment ? They have nothing else to give. They have no unity, no charity, no devotion, and less faith than that which they would destroy ; nor is there a

principle of communion, or of re-union, known in the Western world. It is very evident, therefore, that this fourth Era cannot settle the question amicably, nor even rationally or logically, doctrinally or otherwise ; for the sword is a poor arbiter when the mind is not satisfied and the heart is not gained.

What, then, is required ? A new synthetical idea is required—a new East ; that is, a new principle of unity—a better principle of unity than that of Rome, for that is obsolete, and better than that of the old East, which merely dictated the unity absolutely without the free development, and therefore without variety and without productiveness. The present Levantine East is a poor, old, and decrepit thing. The world wants a new East at the bottom, not at the top, of the burning mountain. Now, what is the West to the Old World is the East to the New. The Americans call England the East ; ay, and a much better East it is than the old one ; for it is the East to a new World, a new Era, a new mediæval series of Light Ages. The Old East was once the West, just as a father was once a son before he became a father. We have long figured in history as the West ; but now our time is past, and another West has come to the birth ; and we are far East, like an old Patriarch. We do not require to go to Jerusalem, therefore, for the East. No ; we need only do as the mountain did with Mahomet : wait until the East come to us. It is a principle of unity that is the East—

the undivided orb, instead of the divided stars. But even the geographical aspect of the question is respected, and we could not be prepared with a new spiritual and mental East in this new Levant, until a new geographical world had arisen in the Far West, to complete our title to an Eastern Mission in a higher than the geographical sense.

This geographical solution was provided for at the Renaissance. In 1492, when the Fourth Great Era was commencing, America was discovered ; and it has been growing ever since—a new world, peopled by the old world, and tracing back its history to the very same origin as our own—the middle ages. At the end of the middle ages the history of America begins—a parallel history with that of the Fourth Era in Europe—and the Independence of North America was the signal of the announcement of the close of the Fourth Era in France ; for the first constitutional Congress met in 1789, the popular date of the French Revolution. Since that epoch industry, progress and Liberty are doing for the United States, who represent England in America, what they have done in succession for all countries to which they have been driven by the absolute principle ; and the probability is, that ere long America will be to the old world in industry what England now is to the older nations in the South-east of Europe. But whatever England loses

by comparison thus industrially, she will gain spiritually, artistically, morally and influentially.

But now comes another important view of the subject. Will civilisation thus fly round the world, and leave the Western European countries a Desert, like the Eastern division of the Old Empire at present? No; there is provision made against this extension of the Desolation in the Return and the Restoration. It is only the East of the Empire that is desolated materially. The West is desolated spiritually; that is, all its old spiritual sectarianism is desolated, but its temporalities are thereby improved. Desolation has its graduated scale, like everything else, and the first or lowest is the material desolation; hence the necessity for the territorial and physical desolation of the East. But the rising scale of desolation is merely progress; for the destruction of an old and corrupt system, and the substitution of a better, is advancement in welfare and happiness. Desolation is translatable into a great blessing; but the first degree of every movement is evil. There is no reasonable fear of any material Desolation of the Western world; that its cities will be shaken with earthquakes and ruined like those of the Eastern empire; but its churches, mediterranean, national and sectarian, will be shaken. They are the spiritual cities of the spiritual Empire; and the same fate awaits them as awaited the material cities of the East,

but in a translated sense. Then the Ruins of Rome will be built up, and the owls and the antiquaries alone will be sorry for it. France translated the Earthquakes into political Revolutions: England translates the Revolutions into Reforms.

The whole system of the double empire is beautifully illustrated in the human body, which, being the image of God, is the type of the universe, and especially of man's universe—human society. There are two great circulating systems of blood life in the human frame: the first is the systematic, which goes through the whole system, and becomes corrupt in the capillaries by losing its oxygen and contracting carbonic acid; and in this corrupt state it comes back to the right side of the heart; from this it is propelled into the pulmonary system, through another set of capillaries in the lungs; and here, in these minutely small bloodvessels, it parts with its carbonic acid in expiration, and receives a new supply of oxygen in respiration. Thus it is purified, and returns to the left side of the heart in a state of purity. The lungs represent an upper or a higher order and region of life, and being immediately connected with the mouth, or the word, that region is analogous to an intellectual region. Now nothing is more obvious than this: that the ramification of minute political life in the great systematic Roman Empire tended to incorrigible cor-

ruption; whilst in modern times, by means of the Press and public criticism, which may be regarded as the lungs of modern society, the capillary system of minute subdivision in the North-western world has a tendency to expose corruption to a purifying influence, and eject it from the system. There is great corrupting influence in both systems; but the one has a corrective element to meet with, which the other has not, and a vital and a spiritual principle peculiar to itself; and this influence in society, as in the body, is the immediate preparation for a new and a pure arterial circulation. This analogy will illustrate the double Empire and the double Drama.

The history of woman in the Fourth Era begins with the fact, that, at the commencement of it, Francis I. introduced the female sex to court, and thus made mixed male and female society fashionable. The Protestant clergy married, women were educated, and allowed increased and increasing opportunities of mental culture. The consequence is a greater equalisation of the two sexes in social influence. But the end is not yet. The fifth age is the age for that sexual reconciliation to which all progress tends, and then each sex will take the precedence of the other in its own imperial division of society; for society is a double Empire, a double eagle, for ever, as everything that God ordains is for ever, and is not destruc-

tible, but only translatable from a worse to a better meaning. Man is the Desolator of his own Empire, as the absolute principle is of the East, until woman, and all the principles which the female Nature represents, enjoy their own eternal and legitimate rights.

One people still remains distinct, unmixed and uncombined with the nations during the long career of the great historical Eras, and, true to the primitive word of the first rock and its Rabbinical interpretation, refuses even to listen to the additions, interpretations and glosses which have been made to or put upon it. The Jews are the Protestants of Gentilism. They refuse to accept or be governed by any other than a Divine Law. They admit a Human Interpretation, and thus analogically accept the Divine Humanity; but it is the old and original Law of the Desert, and no other. They are right in one sense; no other Law but a Divine Humanity Law can ever be permanently established. Who has it? That is the question. Solve that question and the East is restored, and the five Great Nations occupy in splendour their lineal geographical position.

But one of them is lost: one of the five great cities is lost. It is "the city of Destruction;"* not the Jewish; for we know where the Jews are, and they can be restored. The Greeks also can be

* See Isaiah xix, 18.

restored. The French and English are at present in safety ; but where are the Romans ? They are converted into Italians. Latin Rome is lost for ever, and her language is a dead language ; but being a dead language, it becomes sacred. A living language is vulgarised and *slanged* ; a dead language is not. Such a language is wanted for high purposes. This is merely an idea that seems to grow very naturally out of a fact : we leave it to its fate. But there is a kernel in the nut.

ACT FIFTH.—*The Universal Mission.*

PROLOGUE

THIS is in the future, but has a dawn, like the other acts, that announces its coming. The dawns, which are distinctly marked in the New or Christian Drama, where alone the acts are arranged in chronological succession, and are never, even in part, synchronical, amount on an average to seventy or eighty years. Thus, from the Nativity to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, seventy years—from the establishment of Christianity by Constantine (323) to the prohibition of Paganism by law (390), and the final rupture of the Empire in 395, sixty-seven or seventy-two years—from the Justinian Reformation (532) or declaration of the Papal Supremacy to the beginning of the Middle Ages, seventy-five or seventy-six years—from the taking of Constantinople by the Turks (1452) to Luther's Excommunication (1520), or formation of the Protestant Party at Smalkald (1529), sixty-eight or seventy-six years. All these are transitional periods which close one Era and usher in another, and thus become the evening of the preceding and the morning of the succeeding age. Assuming, therefore, that the

fourth great Era had its preliminary close at the French Revolution in 1792 (which is the official date), or in 1789 (which is the popular date), we are at present in the dawn of an Era, which, however, as it is the greatest of all Eras, may be honoured on that very account with a greater or a longer dawn than the preceding. We cannot tell, and we shall not even attempt to excogitate the matter. Suffice it to say, that we are in the dawn of another Era.

The fourth Era is represented by two leading nations, corresponding to the two ideas of Catholic Philosophy and national or disruptive Religion which characterise it. These two are France and England. France, being first in the order of time, marks the first end of the Era; England marks the second. France, being exclusively political, has only a political and military revolution: it may be sublimated to Socialism, but it is not theological. France thrusts out the old theology, and lets it in again as it may, can, or must. It does not try to improve it: for it regards it as absolute. England has an ecclesiastical as well as a political mission, and therefore she marks the date of the new Era with two reformations; and theology being the basis upon which all Christendom is founded, it becomes of necessity the tropical or turning point, before we come to which all policy, however hopeful and apparently changeful, is only old policy mended by expediency. The great obstacle to all improvement in this or any other country, is the

religious question. The whole system of Education, at home and abroad, is hampered by it; moral and sanitary reforms are rendered impossible by it; union and communion in great moral and philanthropic achievements of high character are forbidden by it; and there is no possibility of escaping from this into a unitary state of things, but by the solution of it. This is the Mountain. Beyond it is Ultramontaniam; on this side of it is Cismontaniam. There is a passage, possible and pre-ordained on purpose, and it is a very Simplon.*

England, being double (State and Church), has two corresponding movements. The first, being superficial or material, and not touching the heart of the question, and therefore incapable of solving it, comes first, and forms the great popular question of the dawn; the latter closes it. The English Revolution is all peaceful. France has the sword, as the temporal and military nation, without the spiritual power. England, having the spiritual power, and being the great representative of the Written Word, conducts her revolution entirely with it, and only uses the sword to keep the Law in office. Her leading Reformers in State and Church will conduct their warfare with words only, and especially in the latter movement, which, though the most trenchant and heart-

* Simplon is the name of the passage of the Alps made by Napoleon.

cutting and soul-discovering of all movements, will not only dispense with the sword, but it will even dispense with wrath, revenge, prejudice, scandal, and evil-speaking, at least on the part of those who conduct it. If not, it will fail; for no wrangling and discourteous controversy can ever succeed in introducing an Era of Peace, closing the history of national wars, and hanging up the trumpet in the hall, never to sound a war-blast again.

Lest the sensitive patriotic reader should suppose that there is any Providential favour shown to the British isles, by the arrangement we have delineated, in making them the tropic of the great movement, we may remark that this is not only a hasty, but an erroneous, supposition. There is no particular favour shown to December in making it the winter tropic. July and August do not envy it; nor does May regard herself as at all inferior to it. England is merely the tropic. All nations are connected with her in the movement. All feed her with their own ideas, and develop and magnify, refine and multiply, those which they receive from her in return; and that also, to her shame, provoking her to jealousy by their own superiority. These remarks we deem necessary, to prevent the reader from even suspecting us of any partiality for the Isles—a suspicion which would not do us justice; for the study of this great subject has so thoroughly denuded us of all remnant of *isolated* patriotism, that we feel for every coun-

try as if it were merely a part of our own, or our own a part of it; or rather we regard ourselves as of no country at all, for we seek one to come; and if, in any part of this book, a semblance of partiality has escaped us, or may yet escape, we permit the reader to translate it extempore into a higher meaning; and if it be not so translatable, we retract it.

With these prefatory remarks we proceed, not to the action of the fifth act, but to a review of the dawn that introduces it; and that shows all the elements of the fourth act in a state of transition, struggling, quarrelling, blending, fusing, helpless, hopeless, hopeful, and wondering what all this miscellaneous confusion of uncommuning principles is likely to result in.

The Dawn.

SCENE FIRST.

THE BRITISH ISLES AND THE ISLANDERS.

THE scenery of each Act of the Drama has its own speciality. That of the Jews is continental, mountainous, and enclosed, expressing primitive absolutism and seclusion; and yet it was called the Land of Canaan—that is, the land of merchants; not because the Jews were merchants, but because the Canaanites, whom they dispossessed, were addicted to commerce. Phœnicia, Palestine or Philistine, is the native land of Western commercial enterprise—the land of Tyre and Sidon. But absolutism drives out commerce, which ever seeks a sphere of liberty. The scenery of the second act is mountainous, peninsular, and insular, infinitely divided and diversified, and especially adapted for free and active youthful commerce, and for primitive liberty and rivalry amongst small states and tribes. That of the third is peninsular and volcanic, with a long spine of mountains, indicative of strength, and well adapted, by its central position, for the site of the capital of the Mediterranean World and the focus of a juvenile

civilisation. The scene of the fourth is continental ; adapted for nationality or civilisation on a larger scale. France alone is larger than all the Republics and Kingdoms of Greece in one. The whole territory of Laconia was only equal to a few English parishes, or a square of forty miles each side. Attica was one-half the size of this. The continental system enlarged the idea of a popular unity, and is partly Mediterranean, partly Atlantic ; in other words, transitional. Commerce there extended her prospect, and the sphere of her ambition ; and Nature herself even pointed out the way that she was destined to take ; for, with the exception of the Rhone, reluctantly forced by the Jura mountains to change its course, all the great rivers of Western Continental Europe seek the North and the West. Spain and Portugal early took the hint and led to the discovery of the ends of the earth, and the indefinite enlargement of commercial enterprise. In the fifth or British act, the scenery is oceanic and insular ; and this is a new feature in the territorial arrangement of the Divine Drama, so distinct from all the other four as to require a special mission to characterise it. All the other scenes are parts of something else—parts of the great continent to which they belong, and wholly or partly Mediterranean. But the British isles are not integral parts of any continental system. They are integers themselves, or continental wholes, and they are oceanic. Here the

merchants of old Canaan appear to have been driven, by the force of absolutism, from the Eastern to the Western extremity of the Empire. The Poles are merely reversed; and commerce being foiled in her juvenile attempts to universalise the sphere of her activity in the East, has found in Ocean's Isle an opportunity of extending her wings and filling her sails with every breeze that blows. Whatever the ancient Canaan was in name, the British Isles are in reality. And as first things are merely types of last—germs that find their full development in ultimates, as first teeth in second, and as down in full feather—so it may be that we, in this extremity of the bipolar magnet of civilisation, are nothing else than the positive pole—i. e., in commerce—of which the other was the negative. It would be strange if we were Jews after all *—Christian Jews of course, if Christians we are, which is very doubtful; if only Canaanites, we shall be turned out, or, which is the same thing, converted into something else, if an absolute principle should happen to visit us.

That the British Isles are the end of the Geographical line of movement in the old world or the

* Those mystic spirits that are fond of reading acrostics, perhaps may find one in the four initials of the United Kingdoms and the Welsh Principality; only remembering that J was formerly an I, until the Dutch printers curled the tail of it. It still goes by the name of the Dutch I.

orbis Romanus is evident from the map. It can go no farther without going to Iceland, Greenland and the Frozen Regions. They are therefore either the positive or the negative end of the magnet of Western civilisation. And there is this peculiarity about the Geology of these islands: that it turns round and faces that of the continent, and thus reverses the aspect of the country. The Primitive and hilly regions of France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, Greece and Palestine are chiefly on the South and East, showing the tendency of civilisation from that quarter to North-west. But when we come to the end of the line of civilisation or the terminus of the old Roman world, the relative positions are inverted, and the primitive rocks of Great Britain are found to be distributed all along the North-west, from one end of the kingdom to the other, like an immense natural barrier or dam erected on purpose to stop a current. London and the basin of the Thames occupy the highest Geological portion of England, and all along the East coast, from the River Tyne to the Isle of Wight, there is not a primitive rock to be found like those which line the whole of the North and West of the island. But London, though highest geologically, is lowest geographically, and the region which it occupies corresponds to the opposite region on the French coast; and thus the two nations stand face to face, as if bent on going in

opposite directions, instead of standing back to face, like persons intent on a common purpose.*

Great Britain is naturally divided into two nations; a large ridge of primary rocks crosses the island on the borders of England and Scotland, and beyond this ridge, in the North-west, lies the valley which is called the Lowlands of Scotland. But these lowlands are more primitive than the lowlands of England. They chiefly rest on upper transition or secondary strata. So that Scotland, as a whole, is a primitive country, like the hill country of Judea or of Greece in a colder climate. The Capital of Scotland, unlike that of England, stands on a primitive rock of Plutonic origin, and thus the whole country is powerfully expressive in analogical language of an absolute principle. Wales is merely the back of England, and can scarcely be said to be distinguished from it, as its primitive rocks extend to the sea; but beyond that sea lies another land, distinct from all others which we have yet described. Ireland has this geographical peculiarity: that it seems to look nowhere, unless it be to America, towards which its greatest river flows, and to be all-sufficient in itself if it were only let alone. It is

* This apparent antagonism or one-sidedness of England is corrected by the opening up of her commerce, through her North-western mountains, into the great thoroughfare of American trade. It is on that side, the tropic of the industrial movement, that all her manufacturing resources are found, and her mechanical genius developed. This commercial industry has become her real mountain barrier at last.

surrounded with mountains, whilst within these mountains, and protected from danger on every side, lies an immense plain of rich land and green pasture. But this plain is not low-lying or of recent formation; nor does the soil rest upon chalk or sand or clay, as in England; but the greater part of the soil of Ireland is light loam resting upon limestone rock. This gives it warmth and nourishment, and peculiarly adapts it for a primitive people; for with little labour or skill it produces abundantly, as in Greece and Judea. On this face of internal beauty, however, there are many spots. The flat bogland of Ireland, which chiefly lies in the centre of its beautiful plain, constitutes more than a million and a half of acres, whilst the dry mountain bogs make more than another million; and though there is little or no sand, there is a general want of that firm, compact clay soil which is to be found so abundantly in England, and which requires so much industry and labour to cultivate, and tending also to the development of industry in the people who till it. Such is a general outline of the Geological character of the British islands; from which it is obvious, according to the principles of analogy hitherto followed, that in England the greatest development of industrial activity and mental freedom takes place; that Scotland lingers on the primitive mountains of discipline, out of which she may be drawn, but never can take the lead. Whilst Ireland, with her primitive mountains all

around her, and her beautiful fields and her bogs within, presents an emblem of her political and ecclesiastical condition, which it is needless to describe ; for each particular sect and party will best understand it for itself. In which direction Ireland is going, or ever has gone, it is impossible tell ; for it is like a wheel with spokes having a bog in the centre around which it revolves, by means of its two counteracting forces, centripetal and centrifugal, which never govern, but always revolutionise it. The destiny of Ireland will always be a special mystery until the principle of the Divine Drama be understood.

In analysing more particularly the character of the Britannic Nations, we find that Scotland and England, though now nominally united, are irreconcilably distinguished. Scotland has adopted in ecclesiastics the democratic, popular or anti-Roman principle, with church courts consisting of laity and clergy ; whilst in politics it has adhered to the principle of the Roman Law, instead of the Saxon or Gothic. England has just reversed this ; for it has preserved the Roman Tradition, the medium principle of aristocracy or episcopacy in ecclesiastics, and the Saxon principle of popular liberty in politics. Moreover, by the removal of the political legislature from Scotland, the Scots are left without a political parliament in their own capital ; but they have in its stead an ecclesiastical parliament or general assembly ; and this

one fact has tended to give the religious element a precedence in Scotland, and throw more power into the hands of the clergy than they would otherwise have enjoyed. Just the reverse has happened in England, and the same cause which has given the political legislature to England and taken it from Scotland, and given Ecclesiastical Legislation to Scotland and taken it from England, has made the English people more and the Scotch less political; the Scotch more and the English less theological. This democratical character of the Scotch Church would seem at first sight not in harmony with the primitive character of its Geology. But we must recollect that the tables are now turned, and a reversion of the Poles takes place at the end of the movement; a new foundation is laid, and though still the absolute, it is the absolute in another aspect. The democratic element may be as absolute in its own way as the monarchical; and we know no country in the world where it is more absolute than in Scotland. And it is always absolute where it exists alone without a gradation of the scale of authority, but especially so in its religious capacity; and Religion itself is absolute in reference to politics. This is particularly the case with the Scottish Church, in which, by way of establishing the Law of Liberty and Equality, all gradation of rank was disavowed; yet the mental confinement of the North of the Island is greater than that of the South, where the graduated scale of

Bishops and inferior Clergy is adopted. The Scotch Covenanter is the very type of absolutism, and the Presbyterian is his modern representative. The discipline is more primitive in the North than in the South. And the combination of clergy with laity in the Scotch kirk has sanctified the idea of laity more than with us in England, where the people can only interfere with church matters in the vestry, in which they wrangle about parish funds and other temporal interests, and establish a fashionable delusion, that it is the clergy only which constitute the church, and that they alone are entitled or qualified to judge of sacred things!—an unholy principle, which must be abandoned when the church returns to her Fatherland in the East, and civilisation commences her homeward movement. Scotland supplies the fundamental idea of a perfect church, as she ought to do from her geographical position; but it is only fundamental. It is not adapted for a superstructure; for it wants gradation of rank. It wants, also, authority, and is subject to disruptions. England has the gradation of rank, but it wants the popular foundation, and also the unity that crowns the edifice. Its reputed head is not spiritual, for it cannot minister in the sanctuary. Ireland proclaims the principle of unity by adhering to the church that nominally represents it. This also she does democratically, by voluntary popular submission to Papacy. And thus these three nations talk to

each other, in the language of analogy, far more intelligibly than the hieroglyphics on an Egyptian monument ; for, like the three different languages on the Rosetta Stone, the one may be said to translate the meaning of the other. The antagonistic union of the three churches, respectively representing monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, is established in the triune kingdom ; and the perfect idea of a church polity is negatively realised, as a preliminary step to its positive attainment. All are absolute in their respective degrees ; for church is always so in reference to state.

The antagonism arising from a division of the nationality into Irish, English, Welsh and Scotch, is admirably adapted for weakening the force of patriotism. Nationality is not the British mission. If Britain were as compact as France, it would be hampered with a mission for which it is not naturally qualified. John Bull would then mean more than England ; and the wits and the caricaturists would represent him as a Hercules or a Jupiter Tonans. But the rivalry of the nations of the United Kingdom has jocularised the idea of the English personality, and prevented the people from indulging to excess in any national eulogy. The personification of the Empire is divided and distributed not only in the mother isles, but in their numerous colonies which spread over the world, and the islanders are early taught to regard the globe as their home, and to foresee

the possibility of settling for life in some distant region. Hence the inevitable cosmopolitanism of the British islanders, to whom a universal mission is given; whilst the great nation which represents the National Era is not only the most unitary nation in the world, but is very nearly deprived of colonies, as if to forbid the diffusion of her patriotism.

In England, the political character of the United Kingdoms is developed; for here is the Capital, and here is the executive power, of the nation. Now, amongst all the nations of the civilised world, there is none that better or so well represents the principle of universality as England. Here, and here only, you find all the ruling principles of civilised society. We have already seen that the great ruling principles which were developed in the formation of European society in the middle ages were the Church, the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, the Democracy. These are all to be found in England, and nowhere else. In other states there is either no monarchy, no aristocracy, no democracy, or no church establishment. The solution of the problem cannot, therefore, take place in these, for some of the elements are wanting. In ultra-Popish countries, Protestantism, one of the most important elements of modern civilisation, does not exist; the solution, therefore, cannot take place in these countries. In continental Protestant countries, there is everywhere

a great repression, political or religious, which extinguishes many of the forms of liberty. In England only are they all free to exist, and give utterance to their thoughts, in the pulpit, the meeting or the press. It is, therefore, the only representative of the civilised world. By avoiding excess in either extreme of absolutism, as in Rome, or exclusive Democracy, as in the United States, it has contrived to give the representatives of all the principles a definite but a limited form of existence; and for this reason the City of London becomes the focus, as well as the radiating centre, of every principle, good or bad, comprehended in the meaning of the world civilisation. If civilisation, then, is the centre of the world, and London the centre of mundane commerce, the primordial form of universal civilisation, London itself is the centre of the world: and this beautiful idea has not been overlooked by the Great Disposer; for it so happens, that by projecting a hemispherical map of the world in such a way as to see the greatest amount of land at once, London is found to be in the centre of the hemisphere; and with no other centre can the same effect be produced. The centre of civilisation is also the centre of the territorial earth. No wonder that a city so situated, the capital of a triune kingdom so characterised, as we have already described, should become the metropolis of an empire so vast, and exceed in

magnitude the capital of every other nation in the known world. Such a city must have a great destiny. It is the fifth great and original capital of the Drama. Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, occupy the direct line, and represent the prevalent idea of each of the successive acts. But this alone is the Atlantic or Oceanic Metropolis ; this alone has free scope for the exercise of its commercial energies ; and in this capacity it first reveals the universality of its mission, beginning at the basis of all social and national intercourse—that which rests on the mutual advantage of the parties engaged, and only attempting to subdue nations on the outside of the Theatre of Civilisation, either for the purpose of protecting its commerce, or preserving the prestige of its own authority in the lands which it occupies. Its colonies also are not only the greatest, but the most flourishing ; and the first and greatest is now at the point of outstripping its parent country in the race of population, and ere long the daughter will regard the mother as a very little woman. Whether the mother, however, will lose her moral, religious, social and political precedence with her comparative magnitude still remains to be determined by Time, the solver of all problems. But in the meanwhile, we think that there is no necessity for regarding the North American States as a different nation from the United Kingdom. They are merely the

Democracy of the Anglo-Saxon Race. It is the only one of the four elements of civilisation which could not be fully developed, except in a separate sphere of its own; and as it is the broadest and most fundamental of all the four, and, in fact, the basis on which a pyramid of social and political organisation must rest, a wider range of territory was required to preserve the analogy between the principle and the fact. In this sense rather than any other we are disposed to regard our Transatlantic Brethren, who speak our own language, profess our own religion in all its forms, inherit our own legislative policy and social manners, and present a home to the Englishman, Scotchman or Irishman, when he visits their shores, that is not more different or foreign to him than the other two sister nations of the British isles. It is in this capacity only that America can take part in the solution of the problem of the Fifth Act of the Imperial Drama, and not as a distinct act of itself. It bides its time, as we have already observed. It constitutes the Fourth Act of the Great Mundane Drama, of which Asia, Africa and Europe are the first three, or trilogy, and Australia, in all probability, the Fifth. This is the Great Drama of the Globe, and it is as a principal actor in this greatest or superlative Drama that the splendid manifestation of American Destiny will be revealed. This, however, is far off. Hereafter in these pages we include the destiny

of the Americans with our own, and the destiny of each transplanted nation with that of its own original stock in the old world; for it is a change of principles that we expect—a change that is independent of political forms, and that extinguishes by satisfying all national jealousies, and which first attains to a general knowledge of the plan of Providential agency, and after that proceeds discreetly to a thorough reformation of men and manners; thus bringing us into that elevated state of maturity in which we co-operate with God as children, instead of blindly doing his work as mere slaves or servants.

SCENE SECOND.

THE MATTER-OF-FACT MEN.

We have compared the line of civilisation to a magnet: we may now regard it as a ladder let down from heaven to earth; beginning with a spiritual power *in nubibus* (in the clouds), and ending with a temporal on *terra firma*. This figure will give a materiality to one end of the scale which does not belong to the other, and illustrate at once the materialism of modern times, and of the British Isles in particular. But figures are dangerous premises to reason from, because they only present one aspect of the question. In the progress of civilisation there is a cross movement

ever going on—an upward and a downward, a forward and a backward : in other words, the ends of the earth are exchanging polarities. If more material in one aspect of our civilisation, we are less material in another. The ancients, and even the Jews, had gross corporeal ideas of Deity. The moderns have rejected them. In this respect, the moderns are more spiritual. The ancients ascribed all unintelligible phenomena to Spiritual agency ; we to material agency. In this respect, we are less Spiritual. And this is the general characteristic of the moderns in comparison with the ancients : that the material world is better understood and more assiduously cultivated ; and although, in the use of means to attain our ends, we use less violence, yet we use that reason which makes use of natural laws, to the total rejection of all superstitious auxiliaries. Hence the end of the movement is better represented by *terra firma* than by the clouds.

The mechanical and commercial destiny of the British isles is the natural counterpart to a Spiritual Revelation, a prological or hyperlogical system like that of the Jews ; and in no other part of the world is this counterpart so thoroughly realised. It is just where the principles of the Divine Drama would teach us to expect it. Nature has also pre-arranged for it. Where on the round world will you find a spot of earth so admirably contrived for a focus of universal industry as England ? It

is a miniature of the world, geology in a nutshell ; the primary rocks lining the North-western coast ; the secondary and coal districts stretched across the island, from the Tyne to the Severn, supplying all that is needful for mechanical industry ; and towards the East and South, innumerable varieties of uppersoil, exhibiting on the surface a specimen of each of the numerous additions and corrections by which the Creator accomplishes his own works, as man does his, covering one stratum gently with another, like an artist, then applying fire and forcing it up, and exposing the ends of each of the superincumbent beds : thus affording for man such a variety of soil, that scarcely two parishes in England have a similar surface. In all countries in the world this law of adaptation has been pursued ; but in none is to be found such a beautiful gradation, such a *multum in parvo*, of industrial material, so conveniently arranged for mechanical and agricultural use as in England.

With Vulcanism, therefore, her mission begins to dawn. It is the volcano translated, in the peaceful end of the Roman Volcanic World, into a higher meaning ; the mythological forge of old Vulcan realised ; and the Cyclops, with the eye in the forehead, the intellectual vision and forethought of an empire of industry hitherto unparalleled. The primordial instruments are fire and iron—

By hammer and hand
All arts do stand.

Here, for the first time in the history of the world, their agency is universalised.

The Epoch of the dawn of England's greatness is fixed in history. It is the epoch of the great Revolutions. These are signals by which Providence always indicates the superposition of a new stratum, or the forcible heaving up of old ones, by Plutonic agency. It was at the epoch of the American Revolution that the series of wonderful inventions commenced ; and Hargreave's spinning-jenny, Arkwright's spinning-frame, Crompton's spinning-mules, Watt's steam-engine, and Cartwright's power-loom, in succession, raised the Monte Nuovo, which burns, like Vesuvius, in the heart of England, and reveals the interior of the wondrous laboratory. But those discoveries would not have been complete without the assistance of our democratical brethren in America ; and just at the epoch of another great Revolution, which took its rise in their own, and with which they sympathised, Whitney, an American citizen, invented a machine for separating the cotton from the seed, by means of which the facilities were so marvellously increased for the preparation of the material, that though previously to 1790, the year after the first Constitutional Congress met, the United States did not export a single pound of cotton, they now export more than a thousand millions ; and England and her democratical offshoot now monopolise the cotton trade of the world—a trade that thus dates from the epoch of

the French Revolution. India, the native land of cotton, is almost superseded; and England provides, with American material, clothing for all nations, and her goods are to be found in isolated regions whence her merchant-pilgrims are excluded as aliens. She has created, and she maintains in greatest vigour, the Iron man who works without being wearied, and who is equally qualified and well disposed to drag, by rail, a hundred tons of coals, or spin, with the delicacy of a spider or a silkworm, ten thousand slender threads for the finest textile fabrics. This one invention with its accompaniments is revolutionising the world, and stemming the tide of industrial repression which flows from the East, and which naturally tends to leave behind it a desert on its path. The force of British mechanical industry is her mountain dam of the North-west of civilisation, which the current of absolutism cannot pass over.

England has adopted the principle of popular management in all her industry. She gives free scope to individual energy and associative enterprise, and these two involve the old omnipresent principles of sole and divided authority, under which, as usual, we find the greatest amount of decision in individual, but the greatest amount of power in associative, management. English commercial and industrial companies are an Empire of Principalities; and the old and eternal law of progression from the one to the many is revealed in the past and present

history of England's Industry. The reign of the monarch merchant and manufacturer is over ; that of the combined aristocratical merchants is in its meridian. But it is struggling anxiously with the popular element, the translation of American and French Revolution into an English meaning. Let us look at its history.

No sooner did the old Republican experiment fail in France, and centralise itself in the person of a military conqueror, than a new idea began to take root. St. Simon and Fourier in France, and Owen in England, all three almost simultaneously began to develop the principles of Socialism. St. Simon was a soldier, and he preferred a species of military organisation, in which the principle of authority vested in individuals was conspicuous, but an Oriental equality of birth and blood and privilege understood. Fourier was a merchant, and went more into details and minute particulars, and organised a plan in which profit and advantage were more satisfactorily considered. But Owen rejected both ideas ; and being a manufacturer, he adopted the extreme democratical principle of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in the fullest sense of the terms—co-operation and equal dividends—community. When the Revolution of 1830 took place in France, St. Simonism shot up rapidly, and made great impression on the French, and even European mind, but was ultimately laughed down for its excessive pretensions. Owenism at the same time attracted the

attention of the working classes in England, but caused no political excitement, except that it gave rise to Trades' Unions, which have since acquired a very formidable importance by the social war which they wage with the masters throughout the country. Fourierism quietly conducted its agitation in the press, and distributed throughout France many new and interesting theories, both beautiful and fantastical. These three systems are a curious triune fact; for in St. Simonism you find the absolute principle of Socialism; in Owenism you find the democratical principle; and in Fourier you find a medium. What is curious also is this: that in England Socialism took the irreligious and exclusively material form. Hence its lower status and its disrespectability. In France it assumed a religious form, with a considerable amount of Spirituality, though not what is called orthodox, and it made a powerful impression, but failed for want of ultimate principles and a total want of authority.

Meanwhile the less headstrong politicians in England took the alarm, and commenced the work of Reform, in order to avoid Revolution. They began with instalments, here a little and there a little, and they still continue to give us instalments as at first; and many admirable changes they have no doubt made since the Turning Era commenced of the Renovation of the British Constitution. The character of these innovations in general points to the ultimate mission of England, though they do not

yet represent it, and are only the political or superficial aspect of it. They have all, more or less, a tendency to universality—an enlargement of the franchise; an equalisation of rights; an abolition of monopolies; a reduction of taxes directly pressing upon industry, food and instruction; a freedom of commerce and intercourse of nations, in opposition to selfish nationality; a cheapening of postal correspondence and a liberty of thought, faith and expression; an abolition of capital punishment; a more merciful treatment of criminals in general, making some account of the temptations of poverty, and atonement for the cruelty of society towards it: and though these objects are not all attained, there is at least an effort made for and a progress towards their attainment. It is a social progress propelled by social theories and a fear of Revolution.

Simultaneously and co-ordinately with this effort of politicians, a corresponding effort of mechanics is made to renovate the face of society. It is well known that roads are the foundation of a social system. The first thing the Romans did when they conquered a new country was to make roads in it. They could not otherwise possess it. The old roads began the old and the new begin the new world. Some of the best gifts that Napoleon gave to Europe were the highways he created and repaired. The Girondists and the Jacobins made none: they were not practical men; they were philosophers and orators—destroyers of the old, not constructors

of the new. The constructive spirit of the Revolution was Napoleon. He had or professed more of the religious and industrial element. He finished the Revolution. But it was not a final system; and one great proof of this is found in the fact that the new roads which he made, like the new laws and the new Empire, were only old ones renewed, or constructed only on the old principle. But England invented a new road never previously known or thought of; and she began to use it in the very same year that the second French Revolution arose to declare that the first was a failure. That same year proclaimed the truth, that another great attempt must be made, for society was not satisfied. Since that the new roads have increased with miraculous rapidity, and we find, in looking at a railway map of the world, that they radiate from the city of Manchester, where they commenced, and creep away back through the very same channels by which our own more advanced civilisation came down from the mountains of the old world. The freest and least absolute countries receive them first. They abound over all England, and in the lowlands of Scotland. They are numerous in the North-west portion of France, and little known in the South-east; to Spain and Italy they are almost entirely strangers. They have not yet ventured to approach the city of Rome. They are abundant throughout all Germany, the land of the Reforma-

tion, and they distinguish, with a striking and wonderful accuracy, even in their present state, when the oldest has scarcely passed its majority, the absolute and the free nations of Christendom.

Now, as the old roads began the old system of society, so the new roads begin another ; and that other has its source in England, and returns to the South-east in the old channel. The Jordan of civilisation is driven back, the dam has stopped the current in the North-west of the world, and it flows anew in a contrary direction. The valleys are heaved up and become hills and mountains, and the mountains fall down and become plains. The two lowest capitals of the civilised world become the highest ; and civilisation, which formerly flowed from the mountains of granite and limestone, the rugged foundations of a repressive and absolute system, begins anew to flow from the alluvial mountains, the offspring of a more peaceful and generous principle. This is the great Revolution, when civilisation has reached its aphelion and returns in its orbitary course. France attempted to realise it without the religious and industrial elements, and failed : she produced a convulsion. It is the destiny of England to introduce those elements and accomplish the work of social regeneration without a musket. Hence the slowness of English reforms, and their mechanical and financial beginnings. It is the type of her peaceful mission. Hence also the

general aversion of her population to war, and the unwarlike aspect of her people, her towns without walls, her police without arms, her military officers without even their uniforms. Her trade, her commerce, her very materiality, or want of spirituality, is the result of a cold-hearted aversion to all imaginative and youthful excitement, the fruitful source of impulse and delusion. It is the very soul of her Vulcanic industry. She has reached the age of sober maturity and acquisitiveness in her old nature. But she has a new nature in her, as every nation has ; and that new nature, a branch of the old trunk, is actively engaged in repairing the time-worn ruins of the old with new ideas of its own, instead of destroying, as young enthusiasts are prone to do. Hence the peculiarly renovating as well as novel character of English movement, and the extreme dislike of the ruling majority to acts of destruction. Even abuses are treated as yet with profound veneration ; and it is marvellously curious how long we consult on the propriety of repairing a time-honoured wrong or undoing an act of hoary-headed injustice. We are waiting for a spirit of another nature than that of the Young Continent. We have not yet obtained the spirit of unanimity and peaceful co-operation ; but a military revolution, in all its aspects, we have denounced. Neither the musket, nor the dagger, nor the secret conspiracy, has inspired us with hope : we detest

them all ; and whilst others rise and gird on their armour, and sing

Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons !

*Marchons ! qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons !**

Patriots, to arms ! Your warlike ranks array,

And with foul blood our country's thirst allay !

we merely stand on and look, or meet without arms ; for, however heartless and cold-blooded we may be, we have as a people made up our minds to carry out our reformations by bloodless means.

Now, bloodless means are, in other words, merely spiritual means ; and as all growths are feeble in the beginning, but are easily distinguished by the connoisseur in their germ, so it is easy for the student of humanity to perceive that the nation which has begun a reformation with peaceful means, and has resolutely determined to use no force and shed no blood, is a nation that constitutes a body for the growth of a spiritual and intellectual power. The growth is upwards from the soil from which it springs, deriving its sustenance from the elements around it ; and these elements, as we have already seen, being universal in England, and not, as in other countries, exclusive, our young, growing spirit must derive its sustenance neither from Popery nor Philosophy alone, or combined, as in France, but from the whole of the elements of Christian civilisation. Its universality is in-

* The Marseillaise chorus—a song of blood.

evitable—the very type of that of which an Apostle has said, that “in the fulness of time, God will gather together all things in heaven and on earth into one”—or all in the spiritual and material world. The slowness and dulness of our movements at present arise from the radical or the root element predominating at the bottom. The spirit, as it grows, reveals a loftier purpose and a nobler mission, and without rejecting *in toto* the root, it superinduces upon it a better than itself; for the development of which the root had its being as a source and a motive power to evolve, but not as an ultimatum for man to enjoy. Rising spirally up from the base to the apex, with better and holier purposes as it ascends, and more glorious visions of the destiny of man than it sees at the root, this up-growing spirit will attain its maturity, and at last reveal itself as the true national spirit, which alone can inspire with a lofty enthusiasm the present chaotic and discordant elements of the British population. It is only by analysis that we thus attain to a knowledge of our national destiny, and not from any real elevation of character at present revealed; for, if we were only to judge from what we perceive in prominent action, we should form an unfavourable opinion of the whole nation and its mission, because of the number of its discordant elements and the universal devotion to selfish interests; but in every member of the heterogeneous list of discordant sects and

parties, creeds and opinions, we also perceive some generous, great, and holy purpose, entangled with the sophistry and delusion of its baser nature ; and it is in this very purpose that we see our destiny ; for it is merely a portion of the embryo spirit, and it will grow to maturity as sure as there are life in heaven and hope upon earth.

But we fear to proceed lest the reader should suppose that we are claiming for England a higher destiny than for other lands. This would be unjust in us to believe, and for Providence to permit : we merely give her a chronological precedence in the Universal Cosmopolitan mission. Each nation has its mission and its time for precedence ; but not for ever, and it is easy to perceive, whilst regarding England as the radix of a new cosmopolitan system, that in proportion as that system ramifies upward from the root that gave it birth, it will acquire new beauty and increasing interest from other nations. Jordan, flowing back from the Dead Sea of materialism in England, will recover the life that rejoiced at its source. The spiritual element still resides in the land of its birth. There is more of it in France than in England ; more in Italy than in France ; and more in Mahometan lands, even more in the deeply religious and reverential desert than in any equal amount of population in England. The ladder still stands the same as at first, with its foot on hard earth and its top in the clouds ; and in proportion as Eastern lands are

rehabilitated and restored to the full communion of Christian civilisation, they will elevate the character of English materialism by taking the lead in those higher regions of being which is their birthplace. Even now they inspire by mere association, and poor is the heart that is not refined and elevated in feeling, in exact proportion as it travels back from England on the line of civilisation, and is not at last solemnised and prostrated before the sublime idea of the Eternal, on the top of Mount Sinai or the Rock of Zion. And though there the people are now degraded, they are degraded only as noblemen and gentlemen in rags; for so long as a man is imbued with sacred and reverential feelings, however scientifically ignorant and politically stupid he may be for a season, he is still a man, and has that within him which is only debased in a material sense by the habiliments of poverty and ignorance, but allied in spirit to the Divine Humanity.

SCENE THIRD.

THE MEN OF PRINCIPLE.

Lamp-posts, curbstones, immoveable fixtures, that stand any shock either of truth or untruth. It matters not which. There they are, like videttes or sentinels, pickets or pioneers, guerilla bands, or even conspirators; and there they must remain, in spite of discomfort and their own private suspicion that there

is something rotten in their cause. There is a graduated scale of them, a complete gamut, from the Papist of the Burning Mountain down to the Atheist of the loose and uncombinable sand. It is a great monochord. Each has its office, and it is essential to the perfection of the scale.

The men of principle have been well developed in England. The soil and climate are favourable to them. They all grow here and live together like Jew and Gentile, cat and dog, in a sort of surly independence and mutual abomination. England is like, if it is not the very identical, House that Jack built. The apostate and sectarian rats eat the grain of the Word and scatter it—the cats, that love the milk and live within the pale, devour the rats—the dogs, that live without the pale, worry the cats—and the cow with the crumpled horn, that pastures on the glebe, tosses the dogs. They would all apparently get rid of one another if they could. But Nature is too much for them. They are all here. The gamut of undeveloped music, or of discord, is complete.

Let us begin at the bottom of the scale, the sand of the desert, and make a sketch of them. The Atheists are secular, matter-of-fact men, who believe themselves and all other animals, plants and things to be the creatures of infinite and eternal stupidity or blind Chance—that mysterious, omnipresent, unconscious Providence which may be called the Great Aerial Mist, or Mist-ic Automaton—for it works without knowing what it is about,

constructs the most beautiful and perfect machinery, cuts the most exquisite statues and paints the most delightful pictures, without thinking or even knowing of its own existence. From which it appears that Ignorance is greater and wiser and cleverer than Intelligence ; for it is the creator of intelligence and the manager of an infinitely variegated system of order and beauty, for the superintendence of which Intelligence is deemed inadequate. If this mist-ic power of Ignorance were a living, conscious power, they think it would not, or could not, do the infinitely variegated and sublime work of the universe : it would get tired or puzzled, or do it differently. And as a steam engine is better than a horse for doing hard work, or even delicate and regular work, so they think that a huge universal engine without sense, or an electrical fluid without consciousness, is better than an intelligent Being for working the Factory of Creation. There is something sublime in the idea, and even a little more ; and its incomprehensibility and mist-ery and anti-intelligence are admirable, especially when regarded as the basis of a matter-of-fact philosophy.

After the Atheists come the Deists, the Philosophers or the Religious Liberals. They do not openly deny the existence of a Supreme Intelligence, but they will not allow it to have anything to do with its own creation. All reference to providential agency with such philosophers is absurd.

God, they believe, does nothing specially, and therefore they see his mind, his purpose, his will, in nothing. Perhaps he has none. They ascribe everything to Nature, or the unconscious engine. They profess to be great reasoners, and to be laying the foundation of the age of intelligence; and they think they can prove that Revelation is neither natural nor Divine, but just a human trick, or a mania or a weakness, or they don't know what. So that the world has been governed, since time began, by incongruous agents, without a plan and without a purpose or intelligible meaning. It is because it is contradictory and incomprehensible that they deny the divine, the natural, or the providential in Revelation, and because it is cruel, and because it encourages war and bigotry and intolerance, and because it is changeable; and thus creation itself cannot be divine, for it began with an age of fishes that devour one another, and proceeded to an age of reptiles and saurians equally ferocious, and then to quadrupeds not much imbued with the divine principle of mercy, and then to man, who began with a lower animal nature, and rose through the reptile and the bestial condition, and is rising still. Nor can weather be of divine origin, for it is very changeable, sometimes wet, sometimes dry, and very seldom good; nor wolves, for they devour sheep; nor crocodiles, for they have merciless, inexorable jaws; nor sharks, for they bite off sailors' legs; nor the earth, for it shakes and destroys

cities and belches forth fire from its chimney-tops ; nor the sun, for it has spots on its surface ; none of these can be divine, or the works of a divine spirit, according to deistic philosophy ; nor, in fine, can anything else in universal Nature be of divine ordination, for all is imperfect. What, then, does the Creator do ? Nothing specially : he only works generally ! he turns the wheel ! like Samson at the mill ! But might not the Atheists' universal engine do the work alone, and save him the trouble ? Many of them are half inclined to think that it does, but they do not like to avow it. This is Reason ! and this is what we are all to come to when we are enlightened.

All the Liberal classes belong to the dispersion : they have not the power of combination. They are the men of the sand. There is a wild, native, free, jolly, and humorous liberty or levity about them ; and in all that regards old-established rock institutions, their purpose is to bring them down, if possible, to their own level and break them up. They have nothing to substitute in their stead but a general *mêlée* of independent and equally privileged individualities—a free stage and no favour for all. In pursuing this end, they delight in exposing the frailties and abuses of Church and State ; and all the natural facts and laws which seem to counterweigh the influence of religious combination are their especial favourites. Consequently, they possess great respect for science, and

are particularly skilled in the geology of creation and other salient points, which constitute their artillery. In this they have an important mission. They have opened a way for many truths, which could not otherwise have forced a passage through the phalanx of old combinations, which date from times that are prior to the birth of the physical sciences; and, by their individual flexibility and activity, they have secured a great, perhaps the greatest, share of the management of the periodical press, as a matter-of-fact instrument, in which, from behind the curtain of the invisible and the unknown, they perform their work of attrition and pulverisation as expediency justifies. They are guerilla warriors and sharpshooters; and with their paper pulpit they now possess an influence over the public mind which the wooden pulpit might well envy; although, for want of a sacred and collective mission, they can never produce a substitute for the rock which they strive to demolish. Even their own principles they dare not openly avow; and they bow with apparent respect to the old oak, whose spiritual mission their own intellectual paper mission has no power to supersede. Notwithstanding their professed liberality, however, they are considerably deaf and blind to all the evidences of special, providential or spiritual agency, and they do not easily or generously recognise the existence of reason, or even plausibility, on the side of their opponents; and they

readily ascribe to hypocrisy and the worst of motives the strongest of religious convictions. No men, therefore, more ready to brand at once with imposture, and even without investigation, all those natural phenomena which partake of a spiritual character ; and all visionary missions and exceptional gifts, however mysterious and unaccountable upon the supposition, are by them referred with a credulity that equals the superstition of the gipsy-ridden and the ghost-ridden, to the most impossible causes, the basest motives and the most incompatible agencies. Hence with many generous and amiable features, and a sociality in private and domestic life of the first class, and a large amount of intelligence in all useful and practical matters, and a breadth and universality of mind which has liberated itself from the prejudices of sectarian dogmatism, they want elevation ; for, by throwing off indiscriminately the prejudices of spiritual sectarianism, they have contracted such a prejudice against the natural source and poetry of religion itself, that a whole hemisphere of being appears to be shut out from them.

The half-way-house men, as Wilberforce called the Unitarians, are the transition stage between the loose and the absolute sects. They partake of the character of each. They osculate with both extremes—kiss one cheek of each, and both of neither. There is enough of combination to give them the form of a religious, solid body—a rock ;

but at the same time there is such a dispersion of principle amongst them, that it is now impossible to determine what the Unitarian faith is, except that it denies the Divinity of Christ. That alone is its never-failing characteristic—the Humanity without the Divinity. In Christendom this leads by analogy to liberalism. Some have ascribed the coldness of Unitarianism to its monotheism ; but coldness does not necessarily belong to monotheism. The Mahometans are a race of fanatical monotheists. The coldness of Unitarianism is derived from its large infusion of logical humanity or freedom of thought, and therefore its want of fanaticism—its pride of rationalism, and fear of being suspected of credulity by believing too much. “Charity believeth all things ;” but Unitarianism does not ; and instead of increasing its deposits in the Bank of Faith, it seems to be withdrawing so oft and so much that it is difficult to tell of many men whether they be Unitarians or disbelievers in Revelation by voice and vision—they are so much like men of the earth that only see one side of the moon—rationalists that belong to the material hemisphere, and deny or ignore its natural counterpart. Notwithstanding all this, Unitarians have done much work as a religious body, and they are more numerous individually than they are collectively. Perhaps a very large proportion of all religious bodies are Unitarians. Their influence, though not sufficient to draw men professionally out of

Trinitarian churches and chapels, has pulverised the rock of Trinitarianism and covered it with its own loosened particles. There are innumerable church-going men and families who listen very quietly and contentedly to a Unitarian argument, who would be shocked at the idea of joining a Unitarian communion ; and such is the prevalence of this Unitarian spirit in fashionable and middle-class society at large, that the second person of the Trinity is turned out of the drawing-room and the parlour by the Gentiles, as he was turned out of the Synagogue by the Jews. The mission of Unitarianism is not amongst the Heathen ; nor can it boast of an Exeter Hall Propaganda. It is a home, and not a foreign, mission. But we question if any other mission in the Western World can boast of the like number of converts. They are cold converts, however ; and if the work required great sums of money to conduct it, they would not contribute.

We now come to the petrified strata of Doctrinarians—the Petrites, or men of the rock. These strata are numerous, like their geological anti-types ; but they are all more or less plutonic in their origin. They have passed through the fire. Some have been molten with zeal and enthusiasm ; others merely heated : but now they are, with a few modern exceptions, which can only be regarded as signs of the times, cooling down, and the more they cool the more solid and unyielding

they become. The oldest are tremendous fixtures, hoary-headed Granites, Syenites and Porphyries, older than political states and constitutions, defying all change, laughing at earthquakes and fearless of revolutions ; standing erect when empires fall, and merely shaking their sides when kingdoms are prostrate. These are the mountains of society ; some of them burning and smoking or extinct volcanos. It is said that Vesuvius first began to shake, and vomit fire and smoke, when Italy began to persecute the Christians ; and it has continued a burning mountain ever since. And what is Italy now, and what has it ever been, but the burning mountain of Christendom ? What power has ever yet shaken Popery ? They have frightened a Pope, but never St. Peter. They have mesmerised the Roman city, as they did the French nation, and the spirit has fled or been entranced for a season ; but when it came back it seized them, and shook them with the grasp of a giant.

All the Trinitarian sects have a solidity about them. They are the representatives of Gentile Christianity—the old inhabitants of the land. They pride themselves in the old, and not in the new, and are all anxious to prove that their doctrines are the doctrines of the Apostles themselves—the very same talent, carefully wrapped up in a napkin and preserved. Though not one of them can prove this, they would if they could. They

claim no inspiration for adding to their tenets—Roman Catholics, perhaps, excepted, by Papal inspiration—nor even for adapting their doctrines to the times; but they have an undefined belief that they are inspired for interpreting the old, and making it speak as it was meant to speak at first, which they think must also be its meaning at last; and so fearful are they of all ramification and foliage of meaning, that they would lop off all that presumed to show its face above the old root, except what tradition has imposed upon them, and custom and expediency force them to justify by texts of Scripture easily found. They are, therefore, the natural antagonists of the Liberal party. They belong to the ancient, whilst the Liberals belong to the modern, time: they are the East, whilst the Liberals are the West, men. The one party is for absolutism, in some form or other, of religion; the other is for absolutism in preventing that absolutism.

The whole subject-matter of "Christianity for the nations" has been thoroughly analysed, and the result has been the breaking up of the rock of the original church into smaller masses or boulders of different magnitudes. Out of 34,467 places of worship in England and Wales, only 14,077 belong to the Church of England. But the average size of the Established churches is so much greater than that of Dissenters' chapels, that the Establishment provides

accommodation for 5,317,915 sitters ; whilst Dissent provides it for 4,894,648 only. Of Dissenters there are only twenty-five indigenous incorporated sects, according to the Census ; but about 539 isolated congregations of loosely connected sects. Such, however, is the naturally adhesive and combinative spirit of religion, that even those sects which commenced as Independent Congregations unite upon what they call the principle of co-operation, without assuming legislative authority. The co-operation, however, assumes it for them ; and they knit themselves together with the cement of rules and precedents, till at last they become compact and solid, like hard-baked earth. They all affect a certain amount of Gospel Liberty, but are gradually drawn into the vortex of Law. Some, who are anxious to be regarded as unsectarian, give themselves no name, and a nickname is given to them. There is a sect of seven Congregations who call themselves "Non-Sectarians," and a denomination also of Congregations who go by the name of No Particular Denomination. Two congregations call themselves Gospel Pilgrims ; one calls itself Gospel Refugees. And all, with one accord, of the 560 subdivisions believe themselves to be Bible Christians, for the Bible is the Religion of Protestants. From which it appears that the Religion of Protestants is a subdividing agency—"qui solvit Christum"—that is, which dissolves the mystical body of Christ. According to the

Latin or Popish Bible this is Antichrist.—(1 John, iv, 3.)—“*Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum ex Deo non est, et hic est Antichristus.*” However, the Roman Church does it also, and it would do it still more, were it not for persecution, and England would have done it still less, had persecution not been abandoned. The breaking up of the brotherhood is the analytical state of the church that carries the life into its extremities, like the capillary system—a subdivison of the arteries of the human body—and these small sects can penetrate the nooks and corners of society, where the massive churches either cannot or will not enter. They not only provide more places of worship and more preachers than the great respectable church provides, but they analyse the doctrine of the church, and increase the intelligence and acuteness of the people, by theological investigations and controversies, books and tracts, which would have been interdicted by a compact, undivided, legislative church, preserving the traditions of the middle ages.

Now the only preparation for synthesis is analysis, and the more complete the previous analysis, the more intelligible and perfect the subsequent synthesis. England therefore is preparing for synthesis or union; intelligent union, not union by force or persecution, but union by will and intelligence. All the sects would willingly have prevented the analysis if they could, and they would still prevent its farther extension even by persecu-

tion if they had the power. But Providence reigns. The country must fulfil its destiny, and that destiny is a synthetic or universal destiny, which reunites the parts of the Broken Body, and recalls them to the central union at the heart after they have been scattered in the capillaries. In other words, the return to union must take place as in the human body, at the extremities of the subdivision. Rome thinks herself the central body, and has received a faint glow of hope from a partial return in England of many of the Anglican Christians to their Mother Church. But Rome is only the heart of the venous, not the arterial, blood. To go back to Rome is to go back to that corruption, physical force and bondage from which we have escaped. It is to go down into Egypt once more. There is something more Eastern than Rome, more absolute ; and more Western too, more free—that is, the Law of Liberty, which takes captive the understanding and the will without shedding the blood of the body—that blood which stains the soil of the Mediterranean Zion, and brands her mission as not the final mission of Love and Reason.

But with all their compactness and solidification, none of these Gentile Christian parties has power in the Press. The popular intelligence and literature of the age are retreating from them. They fear the Press, its liberty, libertinism, rationalism. They feel as if they traded, like the Jews, in the old clothes of civilisation ; but yet they prefer

these tight and small old clothes to the new and the loose clothing ; and they restrain the freedom of thinking by the fetters of creeds and articles and logical formulæ, which they have extracted, like modern chemists, from the original compound. These fetters are an innovation, but they seem to be indispensable, and are of great moral utility to those who wear them, who are generally distinguished by many amiable and respectable orderly habits ; but they are nervous and fastidious in respect to novelties, conservatives of their own peculiarities by principle, and they would draw a magic line around the sciences if they could, and dictate to them the very line of their march and the extent of their jurisdiction. They love knowledge, but then it must not interfere with their old-established, prological knowledge, nor even correct or translate it into an upper meaning. They condemn it *a priori*, at once, whenever it assails their own everlasting standard. They are, therefore, unprogressive, and for this very reason they have not been able to take a leading part in the popular literature of the day, to write other than sectarian books, or edit other than sectarian papers of limited circulation. A man belonging to any one of these sects would destroy a daily or weekly paper of popular interest so soon as he showed the sectarian spirit in it. He must compromise or conceal his peculiarities, and as no conscientious man can do

this, the consequence is, that the press very generally belongs to the liberal or flexible minds, who are not particular about the shade or the outline of a dogma. These are the men of transition, the heralds of the universal mission. The sincerity that prevails amongst the sectarians in general we believe to be very great, but it is not always very amiable. There is a marvellous deficiency of charity in their faith. They even think they are doing good service in abusing one another ; their very railing is clothed in sincerity and holiness—holy hatred—not the hatred of persons in reality, but the hatred of principles, exhibiting itself in personal animosity so long as the person remains the representative of the dogma that is abhorred ; and whilst they themselves claim credit for sincerity in their violence, they generally refuse to accord the merit of like sincerity to their opponents, for they really cannot understand how those who differ from them can be actuated by other than unjustifiable motives. Two justifying faiths that resist and contradict one another they cannot reconcile ; nor can they understand the all-sidedness of the Omniscient and Omnipresent ; they think he must be a one-sided being like themselves, though Nature is full of conflicting elements, alike legitimate and divinely ordained, and all in reality capable of combination. But these antagonistic parties represent the strife of the elements, the Church mili-

tant, not the Church triumphant, and the body of Truth is broken amongst them and the Liberals, and each has a part, and none the whole of it.

The Established Church, and the churches radiating and parted from it, have the same principles in the main. They all use the same Bible, and agree about its canon, and are unanimous in excluding the Apocrypha, unlike the Protestants of Germany, from the Trinity of the Word ; having no hesitation to revile and abuse it, as infidels the rest of the Sacred Volume. An English clergyman once described the Apocrypha between the Old and New Testament as a ditch between the Cherubim, and he was not suspended. The Roman Church is the only church in England which receives the books of the logical period of ancient Jewish History, excepting only its new rival, and the Southcottians ; and for this reason it condemns the Protestant Bible, burns it and proscribes it, not so much for what it contains as for what it omits ; just as a Trinitarian would not hesitate to burn a Unitarian New Testament, with the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel omitted, and other passages supposed, for dogmatical reasons, to be interpolated. But whilst our Trinitarian parties hold a common Bible, they cannot agree upon a common interpretation. The Book is sealed ; they cannot read it for reconciliation ; and the discordant parties resist, accuse and revile each other, as if truth must ever be all on one side, and error all on the other, and as if the combatants were distinct races of men, in-

tended for separate heavens with impassable gulfs between them to eternity. "Solvitur Christus."—Christ is divided. Yet Wesley was not crucified for us, nor were we baptised in the name of Knox and Calvin. What can be the end, what the object, of such Division? It is the Broken Body, distributed to the Nations (that is, the Gentiles), who represent the divisional principles and missions, and it remains as their portion with them for the sake of the controversy and logical analysis to which controversy gives birth, until the restoration of that Unitary Nation to whom alone the mission of Unity is given, and through whom alone the unity is established. To Israel alone—not the Jews, but Israel—belong the unity and the mission of Restoration.

Wherever we look around us, we see the disunity of Gentilism or Nationalism represented in various modes. If we look at the Church of England, we see a spiritual church with a temporal head and subject to a financial legislature—a church without a voice, except the voice of the dead, which speaks in the language of the past, and defies the spirit of the present and the future. If we look at the Church of Scotland, we find around the peninsular establishment a number of non-communing, insulated sects, each of which pretends to have the Lord himself as its own separate and exclusive head, thus transubstantiating and dividing him into many, like the Romans in their mass; whilst he, the reputed head of so many non-communing bodies, being only

ideally, not personally, present, they virtually remain without a head.

The Roman Church is the only one which has an organisation apparently complete, rising from the unity at the base to the unity at the top of the Pyramid—the architectural type of perpetuity. In this respect, it looks like the Rock of Ages. But the land of the Pyramid may also be the land of bondage, if the Pyramid is not complete ; and the Pyramid of Rome is only a clerical pyramid, the church of the clergy without the laity. The Divine Humanity in its fulness makes the Church, and this fulness the Roman Church has not. With all his infallibility and holiness, the Pope has never been able to establish the faith of his Divine Humanity, nor secure the voluntary acquiescence of his flock in his ecclesiastical supremacy and government. He has been compelled to supply the moral and intellectual deficiency of his pyramidal system by means of the sword. And all churches are alike deficient, and alike fall short of the fulness required. Hence it is, that not one of them has even the presumption to take the sole and the definite name of the Christian Church. They call themselves Apostolical churches, Greek Apostolical, Roman Apostolical, Anglican Apostolical, Catholic Apostolical, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Calvinist. But amongst all the churches of Christendom, there is not one that calls itself “The Christian Church”, or which has faith to embrace the princi-

ples of the whole church. Apostles are many, and cannot represent unity ; and the Apostolical missions are divisional and conflicting, being for the Gentiles, for Christ himself never preached to the Gentiles, and no mere Apostle or number of Apostles can ever have the mission of unitary organisation. An Apostolical church is divisional for ever. It is the same with a presbyterian or any other Church but one, and that is The Christian Church, which embraces all the other churches, and makes use of them as stones and other materials to rear an everlasting edifice, in which absolute law and perfect liberty will be reconciled. This is charity—the ocean into which all the rivers of faith flow and find the salt that purifies and preserves them for ever. The churches of the Gentiles being merely by commission the fragmentary parts of a broken body, the consequence is, that they have only a fragmentary inspiration. Hence the failure of all their missions. Their missionaries take no power along with them. It would be out of analogical order to give them power. They are aliquot and conflicting parts. The Roman missionaries travel with images, rosaries, crosses, crucifixes, and innumerable other things, which St. Peter himself would have thrown into the fire ; and with these they produce an effect upon Pagans ; but it is merely a Roman effect : it has little to do with the Rock of Zion. The English missionaries take Bibles and tracts, and sow them,

like seeds, on the surface of Society ; but little or no fruit is obtained. There is a great lack of Spirit power. No wonder : they are only parts of a broken body. What can a broken body do ? Nothing very effectual. But still it has its mission in the preliminary sphere ; and these wonderful dispersions of Bibles and tracts are amongst the greatest signs of the age in which we live. The Bible Society commenced its mission in the year 1804, and since that it has printed the Scriptures in 150 different languages ; for many of which languages it has formed alphabets and grammars, and thus opened the path of literature and moral and religious progress, by means of reading and writing and a knowledge of the commencement of the history of memorial civilisation, to the greatest proportion of the uncivilised or Pagan world. It is doing with the written what Judea did with the spoken Word—it is doing with the pen what Judea did with the tongue ; and the immense arena which it occupies is in perfect harmony with the universality of that mission which is committed to the isles in which the work originated, and where it is conducted with the greatest spirit and pecuniary support. It is the Herald of Civilisation to the yet uncivilised world—the world beyond the *Orbis Romanus*. It is to the whole world what Judea was to the Mediterranean world. It is the mission of the pen, which is the tongue of the spirit, whose words are not ephemeral and confined in influence

to the limited space of a church or a lecture-room, but permanent and durable, with power to travel into all the nooks and corners of society, and go home with men and talk to them in solitude or the family circle, ever ready and ever willing, when invited, to commune. It is the universal tongue ; and for this reason it is given to Britain, not only to circulate the Scriptures and religious tracts to a marvellous extent, but also to cultivate the liberty of the Press, which is the exponent of liberty of thinking, with no other restraint than the censorship of public opinion upon it.

That Liberty, however, resolves itself into two poles—an absolute and a loose. The immense circulation of the Scriptures, the unitary book which belongs to the absolute sphere, has been conducted solely by the Trinitarian Protestant churches. The Liberal and Infidel party not only give no encouragement to this great Herald of Mundane Civilisation, but even despise and speak sneeringly, and sometimes indignantly, of it. They have a sphere of their own, to which they are exclusively devoted, and that is the assertion of the liberty of the pen in the discussion of all questions of universal interest, free from subjection to any dictatorial spirit, and subject only to the legitimate censorship of public opinion. The absolute parties would gladly have refused this boon if they could. The Liberals, however, have gained the victory ; and they have not only

done great service to society by thus breaking the yoke of the pen, but they have even lessened the amount of literary offence and theological blasphemy which the proscriptions created. Most of the blasphemy and infidelity of society is merely the reaction against personal absolutism, dictation and persecution. When men are free, they speak and write quietly ; when persecuted, they swear. The Absolutists and Persecutors are the real parents of licentiousness in thought, speech or action. Attempting to cure by force what reason alone can correct, they also do to others what they ever complain of when done to themselves. They raise an outcry against all Popish Christendom for proscribing the Protestant Bible ; and yet they proscribe the Roman Bible, and call a portion of it the ditch between the cherubim. They proscribed Paine's "Age of Reason," and imprisoned those who sold it, and would still do so, if they could. But the power was taken from them, and they are in a more respectable and favourable position for reasoning without that power than with it, if they could only employ their reason to account. But as their own principles of reason are nearly the same as those of Paine's, it is really not his Reason at all that they are afraid of, but his facts ; for they all believe that, if his facts be true, his conclusions must follow ; whereas the reverse is the case. The principle of Paine is merely this : that because there

are spots on the sun's disc, it cannot be of Divine origin ; and they, allowing the legitimacy of the conclusion, deny the existence of the spots ; whereas every man who has a pair of eyes in his intellect may perceive, that, as Nature is a graduated scale of imperfection, and only perfect in its totality, or its purpose, so every Divine production, growth or mission, as an aliquot part of Nature must be equally graduated, and regarded only as a germ to be developed, or as the raw material to be fashioned into form by the labour and the skill of humanity in the use of it. The Liberty of the Press, which has been accomplished by the spirit and resistance of Atheists, Deists and Liberals, will ultimately lead to the knowledge of this Great Truth ; and the controversies originated by such men as Paine, who could see the spots on the sun, but could not reason upon them or appreciate their value, are grand Providential preparations for opening the Book, and breaking the Seven Seals thereof.

From the general review of parties in England, it is evident that no country in the world is better prepared for the Great Battle of opinion. Where else can the battle be fought but where the armies are arrayed ? And here they all are—Greek, Roman, Anglican, Scotch, Lutheran, Calvinist, Established and Territorial with Baronial Bishops, and Non-established of every grade—churches with living prophets and apostles, and churches with dead

prophets and apostles, and apostolical churches without apostles, and philosophies without either prophets or apostles, and only wanting one more, "the Christian Church," like Aaron's rod, to swallow up and digest them all, and then bud and flourish.

As if to prepare our minds for this desirable and inevitable consummation, different parties have been favoured with a revival of that very spirit of revelation by which the Church itself was originally founded. There is a complete series of spiritual revelations in England and the United States, besides mesmeric phenomena that bear a resemblance to revelation, and thus gradually open the mind of the philosophical and the infidel classes, as well as the professed believers of that old revelation which they never witnessed in living action, to a better understanding of that Law of Nature (for it is a Law of Nature) in which all revelation originates and by which its spiritual communications are regulated. These modern revelations may be regarded as most instructive signs of the times. There is a series of them, and a speciality belonging to each, which is well deserving of notice. They are generally regarded by loose thinkers as merely abortions, without any other meaning than imposture or delusion; and it is a common saying in society, that any species of religious absurdity may find its adherents, if it can merely find a scoundrel bold enough to pro-

claim it—an opinion characterised by little knowledge of human nature or of the facts of the case. Religious sects are very few in number: there are only thirty-five incorporated churches in England, nine foreign and twenty-six English: and with the exception of five only, they all had their origin in logical interpretations or developments of the original Christian Revelation. These five originated in modern revelations to individuals whose counterparts are as rare as Koh-i-noors.

The sect of the Friends, or Quakers, took its rise in a modern revelation by voice and vision, as well as impression, to George Fox, whom none but a man whose own soul is well steeped in imposture and low trick would ever accuse of insincerity and hypocrisy, though he might regard him as well heated and molten in the crater of the burning mountain. The Quakers have grown out of this germ, and though they have ceased to be exercised with their old spiritual manifestations, they still pretend to the inward guidance of the spirit, cooled and hardened and fixed in society as one of the mountains of Israel. With this spirit of cool prudence, temperance and sobriety, very unlike the spirit of their pilgrim-fathers, they still place themselves above the Scriptures in authority without rejecting them; for they regard them as the root, in the study of which the divine spirit incorporates itself with their own, and grows up in strength, by culture, to be at last the living law.

The Quakers also believe in no other modern revelation but their own, or simply despise others, like the rest of the world, and they are greatly declining even in their own spiritual faith, and falling into a quiet and generous condition of simple moral charity, which seems to abandon all controversial theology whatever, and make religion consist in the daily practice of the duties that we owe to the family and the public ; and thus having lost all desire of doctrinal development, and cast out even the spirit of proselytism, but adhering to the rules of moral rectitude, they are admirably fitted for attaining and maintaining that mundane prosperity and respectability, without spiritual elevation, which they now enjoy.

The Swedenborgians, or "The New Church," as they now call themselves (as if there were an Old Church), believe in a spiritual mission that was given to Swedenborg, a Swede, a hundred years ago. To this they adhere, and shut their eyes and ears to every other ; and whilst they condemn all the world for being deaf to their own doctrine, their own ears want boring for much of a similar and higher order than their own books contain, though these are deserving of deep consideration, as they certainly contain much valuable matter—grains of wheat, with the husk and the straw, that only want threshing to liberate what is valuable from the mystic envelope. But the party, as a body (there are individual exceptions), just eat

it as it grows, and in this state they offer it to the public, who are choked with the straw.

The next in chronological order of modern Revelations is that of Joanna Southcott, the Woman's Church, which began in 1792, was conducted by herself personally till 1814, and then continued by a series of prophets and prophetesses ; and is more extended now, though less heard of, than ever it was. She and her Church profess to be the promised Bride, variously interpreted. The Prophet Wroe is the leader of the only large organised body of Joanna Southcott's followers, and he is a circumcised, bearded Israelite ; and his followers are called Israelites. He is a Lawgiver, stern, solemn, and even tyrannical, illiberal and unlearned ; exclusive as a Jew, whose spirit he possesses, as he claims to be a Prophet like unto Moses. The *one Temple* of this party is at Ashton-under-Line ; but the Prophet resides at Wakefield, though generally travelling over all the world, being commanded by the Spirit to set his foot upon all countries, as the sign of a universal mission belonging to Israel.*

* Joanna Southcott is not very gallantly treated by the gentlemen of the Press, who, we believe, without knowing anything about her, merely pick up their idea of her character from the rabble. We once entertained the same rabble idea of her ; but having read her works—for we really have read them—we now regard her with great respect. However, there is a great abundance of chaff and straw to her grain ; but the grain is good, and as we do not eat either the chaff or the straw if we can avoid it, nor

The Catholic Apostolic Church, vulgarly called Irvingites, commenced with unknown tongues amongst Edward Irving's congregation. Other gifts of Prophecy were added, and at last Apostles were appointed by the Prophets; and these Apostles interpret the Prophets' words, and accept or reject them; estimating the value of the grain, threshing and winnowing it, and thus graduating the scale of prophecy, and acknowledging its inadequacy as a guide without the logical humanity to regulate it. The party contains many persons of rank and wealth, learning and talent, and is the most elegant and respectable of all the spiritual manifestation parties, though greatly inferior in doctrinal; though undeveloped, wealth and mystical beauty and originality to that of the Israelites or Joannas in general.

The Mormonites have astonished the world by their activity and success; but the temptation of the land, and the passion for emigration leave it

even the raw grain, but thresh it and winnow it, and grind it and bake it, we find it, after undergoing this process, not only very palatable, but a special dainty of its kind. But the husk is an insurmountable obstacle to those learned and educated gentlemen who judge of books entirely by the style and the grammar, or those who eat grain as it grows, like the cattle. Such men would reject all prological revelation; for there never was and probably never will be a revelation by voice and vision communicated in classical manner. It would be an invasion of the rights and prerogatives of Humanity, and as contrary to the Divine and the Established order of mundane government, as a field of quartern loaves or hot French rolls.

difficult to determine how far the zeal is purely religious. This party has Apostles and Prophets, like the preceding. The question of Joseph Smith's honesty has little to do with the question of the Mormonite mission. Smith was only the Chief Prophet or President; not the only inspired Lawgiver. The Revelations of the Book of Doctrines and Covenants have many names of Prophets attached to them. Moreover, whether the Book of Mormon be genuine or not, is of little consequence in proving the mission. The mission is proved by its success—the measure and amount of its success or vitality. Whether the Book of Mormon is inspired or not is a question of no value; for every book belongs to the graduated scale of inspiration. The Scriptures inform us that it is the inspiration of the Almighty that giveth man understanding. But he giveth a lower understanding to one and a higher to another. The question in respect to Mormonism, or any other sect, is the degree of elevation. It is evident that the Book of Mormon is not historically true: for instance, it represents America as well stocked with cattle and horses two thousand years ago, and its inhabitants familiar with the use of iron and steel, though none of these things were found by the Spaniards at its discovery. But a Revelation defies the rules of classical criticism; and may take any old book out of the British Library as a basis to set up one of the signs of the times. Its historical falsehood will not prove the falsehood or imposture

of the instrument employed by the Spirit, but only the falsehood or rather the mystification of the Spirit, who is not a critic of history or science, but just takes them both as he finds them in the mind of his agent; for prological or visionary Revelations are not final teaching or positive knowledge, but merely moral and religious atmospheres to give a tone and a character to the parties who receive them, and thus enable them to do a special preliminary work, on which a logical and a better is afterwards superinduced.

We have thus a scale of five modern Churches, founded on modern spiritual revelations—Quakers, Swedenborgians, Southcottians (represented by Israelites, as the only large organised party with a living prophet), the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and the Mormonites. The spirit, however, is dead in the two former; that is, they have no longer those spiritual manifestations in which they originated. They have cooled, and become hardened and inaccessible to new inspirations. We must, therefore, cut them off the list of the five, to which they will not object, for they do not wish to be associated with them; but in cutting off the dead Swedenborgian visitation, we must introduce as its multiplied counterpart and substitute the modern American spirit manifestations, which, in perfect conformity with the American democratical and numerical principle, have taken the polytheistic form—the star system, numerical authority—and sud-

denly issued forth to the astonished world innumerable Sybilline leaves of inspiration from the uncanonised and departed spirits of men and women lately deceased—a movement so clearly akin to that of Swedenborg, being its multifold self, that all the mediatorial spirits appear to regard him as one of the wisest of men.

These four are all the spirit movements in England, and two of them have originated in America ; and regarding them as signs of the times, we perceive a scale that precisely corresponds in miniature to that of the Great Drama : first, an absolute Jewish Law, with little liberty and no learning ; second, a divided Gentile authority, with logical development, great learning, taste and refinement ; third, a physical and spiritual power, using the sword and falling by it, taking possession of a territorial inheritance, and aiming at the conquest of the world ; fourth, a great numerical polyglott, and not yet accordant, spiritualism, mixing up the liberty of private judgment and the liberal philosophy and poetry of the times with the faith of a new and necromantic Revelation. But none of these four parties agree ; they all despise each other's authority ; yet they are so far superior to the rest of the world in charity, that they all allow the reality of each other's manifestations, but ascribe them to evil or inferior influence. The scale, however, increases gradually in magnitude and popularity ; but loses in moral stringency, unity, and absolute power as it ad-

vances from the first to the fourth stage. If the next step preserves this ratio of increase, it will be something very remarkable. But we do not pretend nor mean to prophesy; we merely analyse; and these parties being all collective bodies which profess to have that same power in which all Revealed Religion arose, are thus entitled to be regarded as the great signs of the times in the theological sphere. But merely signs: ultimate or constructive missions they cannot have, merely because they have no understanding of each other's work, and think themselves all-sufficient, though only forming part, and not the whole, of a scale. Quakerism is the type of the law to come; for it is the Herald of Peace—the Moral Law—the Moral Government. The Friends typify a better system of moral order, but cannot realise it for want of artistic and doctrinal development, though in charity and good works they exemplify it better than any other party in Christendom. And the New Church teaches more definitely than any other party the doctrine of charity, but it wants the doctrinal apprehension and acceptance of other missions, and merely sweeps them away like cobwebs, without understanding or investigating them. These two parties are beautiful types of a Law of Morals and a Gospel of Charity. Types precede their antitypes.

The Four Great Missions yet developed still remain represented amongst us—the Jews as distinct as ever; the Greeks or literary men, philoso-

phers, freethinkers and poets ; the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants. They cannot be amalgamated, nor can one destroy the other. They exist by Divine ordination, like so many species of animals or different races of men. The first is unitary, the second is divisional, the third is unitary, the fourth is divisional, just as at first.

The fifth is to come. It is unitary.

SCENE FOURTH.

THE MEN OF THE LAW.

There are numerous illustrations of the idea we have suggested, that Britain is an ultimate in the movement of Western Civilisation, and the initiative of a universal system. But one is especially deserving of attention. It is the absolutism of her law ; not the absolutism of a man or a band of men, but the absolutism of a principle—the independence of Law. The absolutism of Law, if a just Law, is Liberty. When Law is overruled by an individual tyrant, it is no longer Law as a principle, but Law as a capricious dictator. The final object of legislation is really to establish this absolutism of Law, and put an end to the reign of individual will and fallible power.

But it must be the logical form of absolutism, not the prological, with which the career of civilisa-

tion began ; for that was only the root ; this is the efflorescence. We have seen the Law arise in the desert in a positively absolute and reverend form, forbidding the exercise of human judgment in its formation or amendment. We see it again at the end of the line, in a logically absolute, but irreverend and political form, elaborated solely by the exercise of human judgment on the Divine Revelation of Nature. This is an approximation to the ultimate of mundane government ; the principle of which is, that when the children come to maturity, they judge for themselves. But Law cannot afford to lose either its sanctity or its reverence. Agreeable as liberty may be to the feelings, we lose more than we gain by its looseness and licentiousness—its venality or its want of dignity. Law, therefore, naturally grows in liberty to correct this evil. But it is Law as an absolute principle, not as an individual governor ; and it is in the sphere of perfect liberty that the perfect absolutism of Law will be realised. For that only is perfect Law which is consistent with pure liberty ; whilst that alone is perfect liberty which is compatible with pure and just and absolute Law. The absolutism of Law and the freedom of Liberty are bisexual and marriageable principles, whose natural opposites combine and form a union, in which the unpractical or vicious character of each, in isolation or preponderance,

is corrected by that beautiful law of equivalents, by which, as in chemical combinations, the greatest poisons produce the most delightful compounds.

Law, in its complex, free and pulverised form, as a productive source of individual liberty and protection to industry, is chiefly the product of the Fourth or numerical Era. But it comes to a definite crisis in the Fifth. It has, therefore, a more stable, sure and uniform character in England than elsewhere ; and is indeed the great power of the Empire. Whether we regard the legists of England as Legislators, Judges, Magistrates, Barristers, Attorneys or Solicitors, we find that all the practical affairs of the country are in their hands ; that the lawyer has superseded the priest and the soldier, and deprived them of their former influence as magistrates and arbiters ; and that thus a class of men who make no pretensions to religion, strength or courage have thrust out from the government of society another class of men who once possessed almost the sole authority, because of their supposed commission to govern by Divine Law or enforce by muscular power. The Common Law in Britain has superseded the Ecclesiastical and the Military Law. We have reached the negative pole of the magnet. But in so doing, though we have reformed many of the old abuses, we have lowered the tone of legal administration. It is now essentially profane in its character : it is a trade—no longer violent, but

cunning—no longer even professionally sacred and claiming divine prescription, but merely commercial, financial and mechanical. Its pulverisation is complete; for it descends and penetrates into all the minutiae of social and political life. But it has lost the sanctity of the Rock and the power over the conscience, which we see still preserved in the Eastern Lands, that regard the law as a thing divine in its origin, however misinterpreted by human folly. We do not even regard it as divine. We have stripped it of its sanctity; and a member of parliament has even less regard for the law that he has enacted than the Pagan for the god that his own hands have chiselled; for no sooner is the chiselled image consecrated than down falls the sculptor and worships his own work. But the British law-maker smiles at the produce of his own craft, and, like a Greek philosopher, winks and jokes.

This is the evil to be remedied: the human must be consecrated by the Divine: and this is the reason of the Great Protest of the Jews and Mahometans, who take their stand upon the primordial absolute principle, and will keep that stand until men who pretend to be civilised have learned this great and solemn truth: that all pure and just law is divine in principle, and ought to be treated with reverence as if it were promulgated in thunder from Sinai.

Does any man in England regard the law of the land as a sacred thing? Is his conscience bound by it? Does he see the Divine Humanity in it?

Does he ever fear to violate the spirit when he evades the forms of law? What proportion does the influence of conscience bear to the fear of public exposure in making a man respectable? Do not men make such a difference between Divine and human law, that if they can merely evade the inquisition of the latter, they have nothing to fear from the persecution of self-reproach? If a member of parliament can merely escape the imputation of bribery, he is not afraid of self-accusation for subscribing a thousand or ten thousand pounds for a contested election. And if his wife and daughters, in coming from Paris, can smuggle a few pieces of desirable French apparel into England, thereby saving only a few shillings, but at the same time defrauding the revenue and violating a principle, they not only remain uncondemned of conscience, but boast of the feat amongst their friends and acquaintances, and teach the trick as thieves and pickpockets teach one another. And what is the difference between the two classes of crime but this: that the law against stealing private property is, *as they imagine*, a divine law, whilst that against stealing public property is only human? Modern legislators are unable to unite the divinity with humanity in law, for they themselves want it; and they cannot expect the people to pay more respect to their laws than they do themselves. The heart of legislation, from which the blood comes pure and vitalised, appears

to be the Revealed Law of Antiquity, the Law of the Rock and the Desert. There the Law gushes forth in large, comprehensive, all-including commandments, the spirit of which is all-sufficient, but the form defective, for want of the minute ramifications of the capillaries, or small hair arteries, by which it penetrates every nook and corner of the corporeal system. These capillaries it finds in its passage to the extremities, when it becomes infinitely divided into minute branches that turn it backwards into the veins, and at the same time contract such a mass of impurities that it is no longer fit for circulation, until it undergo a process of spiritual purification in the lungs. We are in the pulmonary capillary system of the law at present. It has already undergone its minutest ramifications, but it has at the same time imbibed the impurities of an exclusive humanity, and divested itself of that divine or that sacred authority which has more dignity and greater moral value in forming the character of a population, than either the wig or the ermine, the eloquence or the learning, of the Bench or the Bar.

The cause of this desecration of law is its exclusively financial character. The great object of all Legislation, said an eminent Legislator, lately deceased, is to protect property. The Budget is the great event of the year: a ministry stands or falls by the Budget. Ours is the Legislation of the Bag. No wonder it does not address the

conscience, for that is deeper than a money-bag ; so we are trying the experiment of doing without conscience, by means of a mechanical apparatus, which will work like a huge factory, with wheels innumerable and mathematical precision. A flaw in this machinery—the want of a tooth in a wheel, or a defective articulation, arising from an imperfect bevel—is considered a justification of any individual who may take advantage of it for his own individual interest ; so that it is not the spirit or intention of the law that is studied in its administration, but the mere form or shape, the grammatical wording of it. It is intellect, not conscience, to which the law is addressed. A moral law always addresses itself to conscience. We have not a moral legislature. Our thousand Lawgivers have not the courage to make an appeal to the conscience of the people. They are conscious of the want of a moral mission—of an entire want, a perfect vacuum, of authority in that department of legislation. They can only work with their machinery ; and whensoever it fails, they put on more wheels or add a few more teeth to those they have, or mend those that are broken, in order to secure the success of their artifice. They have no faith in the honour of their subjects, nor do they even try to cultivate that honour, so as to increase their faith in it. The law is merely a machine, and its absolutism consists not in its spirit, but in its form. We have estab-

lished the system of mechanical absolutism ; for form in law, like civil power in church and state, is paramount. This is an extremity, and indicates a return. It cannot always continue so. The spirit of law is superior to its form ; and as we improve, if improve we do, we must rise from the mechanical letter into the spirit of law : and this can only be done by means of a moral legislature ; for spirit will not incorporate itself with mechanical contrivances. It is essentially moral.

Now, what is a moral, and wherein does it differ from a financial, legislature ? Financial legislation is the mechanical form of legislation, its outward extremity, that makes revenue and property, public and private, the sole or the principal object of its administration, and works without appeal, or even reference, to the conscience of man. Moral legislation is a step higher, and not only trains the conscience, but appeals to it ; not only cultivates the morals, but even the manners, of the people ; and it is susceptible of as minute ramification and detail as financial legislation itself. We have revenue officers that pry into every nook and corner of the empire where a shilling is to be found ; but such a thing as a moral officer we have not yet heard of. The very name has a sound that causes an incredulous laugh or a smile. It would be called an inquisition ; and yet it would be no greater inquisition than an income-tax, except that it might be regarded as an act of

impertinence for legislators, who cannot pay their own moral taxes to society, to send their moral officers to insist upon others paying theirs. Law-makers in general can pay their financial taxes, and therefore can hold up their heads in financial legislation ; but it would be a severe trial of self-esteem and sincerity to a thousand legislators, if they were suddenly converted into a moral legislature. The Houses would ring with "Tu quoques." We have no hope of such a conversion ; nor do we even believe that a Parliament can ever fulfil such a mission. Numerical legislation is financial by nature. It is the lowest form of legislation—the basis of it. It is the winter solstice of Law. You cannot go farther down than Representative Law-making. It is the nadir, the negative pole, the popular abyss of Politics ; and it is in its own proper sphere when it looks after the budget. We do not find fault with it ; the budget must be looked after : there must be a nadir as well as a zenith. But there is another legislation above the financial which is more free and more pure, and at the same time more absolute. Financial Legislation is absolute—sixpence, tenpence or a shilling in the pound—ten, five or three per cent.—twelve shillings for a dog, a guinea for a horse—pay or distress. But then it is mutable : you may change the sixpence to fourpence, and the tenpence to twopence, or even repeal the tax altogether. It is a sphere of ex-

perimental and arbitrary absolutism, not the ultimate. Moreover, there is no heart in it. It is granite, crystallised rock. It neither appeals to your, nor can you appeal to its, heart: it has no heart, except a stone. Moreover, it has little or no liberty, except that of buying or not buying the taxed article. It is absolute per-centage, inexorable arithmetic.

Moral legislation has a heart, and you can appeal to it, and it appeals to your heart also; and heart responds to heart; and there is liberty in it: it appeals to the will and cultivates it: and yet there is nothing more absolute and immutable than the moral law—the law of morals and manners. The ceremonial law of etiquette is mutable, and varies with circumstances of time and place, and may be modified, like a financial law, to infinity; but the law of good morals and good manners is the Rock of Ages, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. And yet there is progress or improvement in it. It is a germ that grows from a little thing upwards till it becomes a great plant, and ramifies itself with infinite minuteness into all the details of social and individual behaviour. It thinks nothing too minute to be regarded as a subject of importance, if it affects the feelings of human beings either at home or abroad. It attaches importance to the merest trifles. It is like the Jewish Rabbis and the Jesuits: it goes to the very extremities of legislation in its minute ramifications—with this difference: that theirs being merely preliminary attempts—

substrata—that meddled with puerile forms of Sabbath-keeping, cooking and fasting, or absurd attempts to ascertain the specific gravity of sins and the value of their respective absolutions, the true moral legislation would use all available means to prevent bad morals and manners and cultivate good—a thing never yet done, but possible. But it requires other machinery than a Parliament, not to supersede the Parliament, but to occupy a vacant office never yet occupied by Legislation in the world. That machinery, however, is incompatible with a sectarian population. Sectarianism is the insurmountable barrier. So long as it lasts we are without hope. Our rabble must increase, and its debasement is incurable; for there is no one to undertake the cure of it. A sectarian mind is an uncharitable mind; and it would be a reflection on Providence, an unconscious act of blasphemy, to suppose that an uncharitable mind could be a moral regenerator. We should be sorry if it could. The universe itself would not only be a divine imperfection, but it would be a divine failure also, if such a thing were possible. But only supposing the sectarian spirit in abeyance, and men, reconciled in respect to the first principles of faith, were to regard morals and manners, and not scholastic dogmas, as the test of social worth, then the whole difficulty vanishes, and a simple process, simple as that of planting an acorn, begins a new age of national and social communion. But without the spirit, the unsectarian spirit, any machinery will

prove abortive, and any root that is planted a dead or corrupt one. This moral organisation is The Law of God, the moral government of society in its highest or ultimate sense; and without this Law we are told in Scripture that the Gospel itself is imperfect. For the Law is the song of Moses that is sung along with that of the Gospel in the day of Restitution, and without which the marriage of the two everlasting principles can never be consummated. Scripture prefigures all the great leading features of the Divine Drama to the end, in language of recondite meaning. They are found in the Book like gold at the diggings, not coined into sovereigns and lying on the surface in rows or bags, but scattered and buried in the form of dust, for which a man must search both long and deep, and which he may even see without perceiving, and handle without feeling, and find without appreciating or converting to profitable use.

It is this marriage of the Law and the Gospel which accomplishes the union of the Church and State—a union never yet realised, though nominally existing amongst us, and detested by Dissenters because of its non-reality. Instead of expressing, however, a desire to make it a reality, or teaching the people the superiority of a system in which Law and Gospel are in harmony, they inculcate only the necessity of separation, as if division and discord were their *beau ideal*. They do not mean so; but the people, in adopting their divisional

phraseology, evidently adopt its divisional spirit, and separation appears to be their *ne plus ultra* of Ecclesiastical Reform. But all is chaos that does not lead to union and harmony; and a religion or a philosophy, a doctrine or a theory, that ends in a disruption, is but a draught of sea water to a man that is thirsty. Union is the goal, but a false ought to be superseded with a true union, and not with a separation. The form of the separation doctrine is defective, and, like all defective doctrines, it teaches truth to a certain stage, and mistakes the stage for a terminus. It is true that a real union of Church and State can never be accomplished by any financial legislature and sectarian church; but it is also true that the separation of a financial legislature and a sectarian and financial church can accomplish no good end that a wise man can long for, although it may delight the soul of a political Revolutionist. But a unanimity of men and women upon the fundamental principles of State and Church policy is the very consummation of all that is devoutly to be wished, as the root of a system of terrestrial government. When that, however, takes place, there will be no sects, no religious controversy, and the moral will take the precedence of financial legislature. This may be regarded by many as a dream; but it is a simple, natural development, that will take place as easily, and happen as inevitably, as manhood and womanhood and their consequent union.

The end of the growth and development of the law is its establishment in the conscience and the feelings. In the one it produces good morals and manners, and in the other a pure taste; and these two correspond to the two primordial missions of Judea and Greece, in which originate the germs of the moral law of Christendom, and of the laws of taste in literature and the fine arts. After these come civil and ecclesiastical laws, and then the national and international laws. The history of these reveals the growth and progress of the idea of law in the human mind in the civilised world; and the ultimate will derive its form and spirit from the traditionary channels of communication which all these preserve between the past, the present and the future. There is no new creation, no new idea, required. It is merely a natural development and completion of the old. Nothing else is possible; for even a grafting of all the fruits of the great orchard of society on one stock would still be a preservation of the original sap, than which no other is provided for the planet we belong to.

But the end of law is in the conscience and the heart; and the great object of all improvement is to place it there, like a law of etiquette for morals and manners, which will regulate society by its own spiritual force and omnipresent vigilance, acting from within as a self-reprover and self-regulator in the conscience, and acting from without as

a scrupulous and an absolute public opinion, which will tolerate no loose and self-serving deviation from the laws of strict propriety, and condemn the violator to such hard and certain penance, that in all the elevated regions of society we shall at least have a pure atmosphere, with which the valleys will be refreshed and purified.

The Coming Day,

BEING THE FIFTH AND LAST ACT OF THE WESTERN DRAMA.

A DRAMA closes with the subject-matter with which it begins, with this difference: that the problem is then solved which was unsolved at first, or the end accomplished which was first attempted. The unities are preserved throughout, for they are the laws of order. Without these unities it is no longer a drama, but a relation of events; a representation of successive occurrences; not a flower-plant, with root and efflorescence, but a quantity of vegetable fibre with leaves and petals forcibly united. The Drama is a growth, and its ultimate reproduces the principle of the root, enlarged, multiplied, beautified, ramified, and evolved into a multifold unity, which derives its life and vigour from the primitive germ.

The unities of the Drama are threefold: unity of Action, unity of Time, unity of Place. The ancients very stiffly adhered to these unities. The early dramatists had not even a division of acts or a change of scenes. They understood the idea of unity in its lowest sense. But the principle was right, as a root, and the germ grew, but not to maturity in their day. The French, in reproducing Greece, adopted this limited, immature

sense, but gave a little expansion to it. Our Romantic or North-western Drama, however, refused to be enthralled by the original restrictions, and boldly leaped over the fences of classical arrangement. Like the Fifth Act of the Divine Drama, it is as wide as the world. It seems to defy the principle of the unities, but yet it adheres to it, only translating it into a higher meaning.

To illustrate this: an old Classical Drama, begun in Jerusalem, would be continued in Jerusalem: it would close where it began. This is the literal meaning of unity of place. But an English Legitimate Drama, begun in Jerusalem, can travel through Greece, Italy, and France, and over all the Continent, and finish in the City of London, if the author so chooses. But, in so doing, it carries the first Jerusalem idea along with it, ramifies it, modifies it, enlarges it, multiplies it, and translates it, as circumstances dictate; and thus, though the primitive locality is entirely abandoned in a territorial sense, it is maintained in a spiritual or ideal sense. In other words, the unity of place is translated into a higher meaning than the old literal sense of the Classical Drama would admit of.

The same law of translation applies also to unity of action. In a great historical Drama that lasts for ages, the parents who begin the Drama are represented in succession by the children who conduct it. Moses told the children of Israel that they would be scattered amongst all nations, but

not one of those whom he so addressed experienced the fate of the captivity which was threatened. Their children did. The parents were translated into the offspring. In like manner, when the great translation of the new Christian Drama took place, the Jew was translated into a higher than the genealogical sense, and the unity of action was preserved in the Gentile. The nation was enlarged when the adoption of faith was substituted for the genealogy of blood.

In respect to the unity of time—a more difficult question—the same law of order is preserved. Nothing is, perhaps, more striking and bewildering to the reader of Scripture than this very circumstance. The time is always at hand. The people addressed by the prophets are always to see the great and final change ; and it is generally called a day—the day of the restitution of all things—or mayhap a year—the year of recompense for the controversies of Zion, which is merely a unity magnified ; and as all men are to see it in some way or other, the whole Drama is apparently, and to each individual it actually is, included in one generation ; and if all men are made to reappear on the stage together, either in new bodies or spiritual bodies, or even by spirit manifestations, or in any mode whatever, this reappearance will be a *dénouement* which completes the period of one generation of terrestrial being for each individual. This is the Scriptural idea of unity of

time, and the Great Book of Christendom closes with this dramatic termination of the history of each individual man ; so that in whatever manner the idea is to be realised, the Dramatic unity is there expressed, and History finds a perfect Dramatic *dénouement* of the fourfold reign of evil, representing the consummation of *one generation*.

We began the Drama of Memorial Civilisation with the Rock. We never lose sight of that Rock. The Rock of Sinai becomes the Rock of Zion, and the Rock of Zion becomes the Rock of Peter, and the Rock of Peter becomes the Eternal City ; and we found the Rock to be the Law—the Law of order and rectitude, the principle of absolutism, the basis of political stability. This Law-Rock also changes. The Law of Moses changes into the Canon Laws of the primitive church, the Civil Law of the Empire and the Canon Law of the Papal Church, and the National Laws of order ; and it will grow up into the Universal Law—the Divine Law of Nature, morals and manners. But the unity is never lost sight of. The same idea is analogically present in all the changes and modifications which in succession take place. It has a principle of growth, and there is no end to that growth. It grows from the earth-seeking root up to the extremities of the heaven-seeking plumule.

That growth it derives from the principle of Liberty—a free development, which always resists the old absolute, and at the same time endeavours

to establish a new ramification of it. No sooner does a Liberal dethrone the Absolutist that precedes him, than he becomes himself an Absolutist, and reigns in his stead. Nothing but absolutism can reign. It is the true and the only potentate, king of kings, and lord of lords; but it is infinitely multitudinous and diversified by means of the growing spirit of liberty that for ever accompanies it, and for ever resists it. When it improves, it becomes more moral and more absolute, and when it degenerates, it becomes less moral; and unless it be content to lose power, it becomes more physically violent. But the more morally absolute a law is, the greater the liberty enjoyed under it; for loose or immoral liberty compels law to resort to compulsion; but pure liberty supports law in its moral absolutism, and supersedes the necessity for violence. Hence Law and Liberty grow to perfection together; the rock and the sand are perpetual types of the Absolute and the Free, the Divine and the Human, the Law and the Gospel.

But rock and sand are both dry, and this dryness makes both unfruitful. We cannot plough the loose and volatile sand any more than the dry rock, "until the spirit be poured (as rain) from on high, and the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest. Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness in the fruitful field." This is the end of the double Trilogue. The Rock represents the

principle of stability, absolutism and unprogressiveness, which belongs to the unitary idea, and therefore chiefly characterises a unitary mission, so far as is compatible with life, and some progress, without which man could not exist. The sand characterises the mission that succeeds, and breaks up the unity into sectarianism ; and this flies in the faces, blinds the eyes, wounds the feelings and excites the passions of the pilgrims of society, until the mission of the rain succeeds, which converts the sand into soil, and covers the rock and the plain with fruitful mould. Now the old world and the Divine Drama began in the Rainless Desert, that crosses the line of civilisation for the two hemispheres ; and in doing so it expresses the want of that attrition, and that cement, which distinguish a genial and a healthy climate, either for mind or body. Where there is no rain, the rock and the sand are both inconvertible into soil. The moisture is their communing and reconciling principle. The Drama comes to its crisis in a showery, well-watered land.

The universe is a simple machine, and the entire principle of its mechanism is resolvable into these three primordial principles—forcible union, communion or free union, and disunion, arranged co-ordinately ; but when arranged chronologically, as in the educational training and progressive movement of the Divine Drama, they follow in this order—forcible union, disunion, communion.

Communion is the end ; union is the beginning. Now communion is better than union. It is a higher order of union. Union is too exclusively absolute and individual. It wants dividuality, variety and liberty. Moreover communion is better than liberty ; for liberty is loose and licentious, and wants the stability, the order and the discipline of the law. Neither union nor disunion, in its extreme sense, is good for society ; the one is oppression, and the other is anarchy. But communion expresses all that the heart can desire in this world, and that embraces the two ideas of Law and Liberty, and marries them at the altar with God's blessing.

The lowest or material idea of communion is commerce. Commerce means trading together ; communion means enjoying together. But men may trade together, and cheat and ruin one another ; when they commune together, they love and assist one other. Hence commerce is the earth-born root of that plant of which communion is the plumule. The root always seeks the earth and goes downward ; the plumule always looks to heaven, and goes upward. But they have both the element of cement ; they have the moisture, and they represent the growth of society ; the one as the beginning, the other as the end. Hence we not only find commerce with its root in Palestine, amongst the Phenicians, but Palestine itself is called the Land of Canaan—the land of

merchants ; and we find the spirit of it following the course of civilisation, and always pressing forward to occupy the first place in the progress of nations. It follows the course of human society like a river to the sea : first, in Canaan ; then in Greece ; then in the Italian Republics ; then in the North-western nations ; and at last we find London acknowledged at the present moment to be the commercial capital of the world, or the land of merchants—the metropolis of Canaan.

Still commerce is not communion ; but it is the root of it—the earth-boring and earth-seeking root ; an emblem of all that earth symbolises, without heaven and the hope of it ; the prose without the poetry of existence ; the wealth without its enjoyment, and without the moral beauty that renders it amiable to the beholder, or anything but an object of envy to the poor. But it is not an evil in itself. It is a root without its plumule, until the moral principle of communion be raised upon it. We say moral principle of communion, to distinguish our idea of it from that mechanical principle of community, which has been taught by many in modern times from the inspiration of the age. Community thus taught is an immature development of the idea ; but being forcible and mechanical, it rather destroys liberty than promotes it. There can be no real liberty in society established by artificial means ; for man is a moral being, the apex of the pyramid of creation, and

can only find his element in the higher atmosphere of moral, intellectual, and spiritual enjoyment—a voluntary being, and therefore never to be made happy under any system of artificial constraint, which prescribes a routine that interferes with the exercise of his own mysterious and sacred individuality. With this individuality communion does not interfere. It is the end and object of terrestrial redemption. The communion of the Saints is an article of the Christian Creed, and, what is more, the last article but one, the penultimate, and the one that is associated with life everlasting; and what holier and happier idea of life everlasting can we have than pure and perfect social communion?

How is this to be attained? It begins with a common faith. There is no other root for it either in time or eternity; there is no other way to it but through this common faith. All the revolutions and reforms and repealing of taxes, all the electioneering trickery and manœuvre of party, are vain and worthless without this. They may go on to eternity without improving the condition of man or making life more desirable, except perhaps to the few who make the many their slaves. There is no real progress, no real alleviation of burden, no genuine repeal of taxation unless it be felt on the heart. The poor labourer in the heyday of his strength twenty years ago could carry a quarter of grain; his master has now repealed one half of his

taxes, and gives him only half a quarter to carry ; but he is oppressed with the load. Is this a real or a nominal repeal ? And who can say that any repeal of taxation that has yet been granted to us in this tax-repealing land of mechanical reform, is real or merely nominal ? We do not presume to answer the question, because we cannot tell whether the burden on the heart of the pilgrim of life, in this middle age of the nineteenth century, is greater or lighter than it was in the middle age of the tenth century. It is the pilgrim's burden that we judge by, not by the pounds, shillings and pence, or the labour value of wheat ; and judging by this burden, we feel assured that that only can be esteemed a real deliverance to the world which promotes the social communion of nations and individuals ; and can this be effected either in public or in private life without a common faith ? We trow not. We little value any attempted reform that has not this for its basis. Its financial or commercial value we do not dispute ; but its moral value is a vulgar fraction.

At present we live in the Dawn of the Universal Era. Its principle, therefore, is not seen distinctly, if at all. As in the early daybreak, however, before the sun is visible above the horizon, an evidence is given from the clouds and the mountain-tops, and the luminous atmosphere, that a day is approaching, and a night retreating—

In that imperfect dawn of light,
Which, coming from the Zodiac's signs,
Doth make the doubtful East half bright
Before the real morning shines ;

as the stars become dim, and the small ones go out, and the great ones glimmer, and a dispersive light, which has no comforting warmth, reveals to the cold and rationalising eye the innumerable details of our terrestrial home—so now, in the dawn of the universal age, the firmament of thought is widely but coldly illuminated with the infinitely numerous facts of a natural and an earthly philosophy ; but no sunbeam from Heaven directly meets the eye ; for it is coloured by refraction from a cloudy sectarianism, or dispersed by reflection from an aerial tradition, or interrupted by the thickness of a material philosophy ; and the stars that we worshipped are no longer brilliant, and the sun that we want has long been down, and is not yet arisen ; and this light universal, which the cold heart of rationalism prefers to the globular lamp of the universe, is like the morning air which medicasters recommend to the patient who wants the sunshine of excitement, or like the draught that he takes before breakfast for his stomach, because he is told that it is tonic and strengthening. But give us the sunshine ! the radiating point ! the pure beam ! the railway from heaven ! and away with the chill of a luminous atmosphere without a solar centre ! The *radiating* Unity ! There is no real day without it. Let

sectarians, philosophers and agitators talk as they may of their facts and their evidences, there is no comfort in a whole universe of such dusty particles, if the central unity be not there to quicken them. It is the shade that they live in, with all their knowledge, if they have not a sun-beam to cast the shadow away from them.

Unity is the rock. You may search the universe, and you will find no other. It alone can withstand the stroke of the hammer; for, if it breaks, it was not unity, and if it is unity, it will not break. They are false unities that fear the stroke, or that give way before it. Hence the unity of old Israel is false, for its dispersion is real; the unity of the Gentile Church is false, for its disruption is a reality; the unity of Rome is false, for she has lost the East, the West, and the North, and is now a *Ponte Rotto*. These are merely the shadows of a coming substance, the types of an eternal archetype, which embraces mundane existence itself, and suffers no other but itself to do so. This archetype is, therefore, not only the unity, but it is everything else that has in the successive ages or amongst the numerous sects and divisions of men represented it. It is the Rock, the *true* Rock. It is Jerusalem, the *true* Jerusalem. It is Rome, the *true* Rome. Its predecessors are merely its types or shadows. It is the Church. It is the Law. All that has attempted to realise the unity has been endowed with more or less of its spirit;

and wherever it is visibly realised, there all unitary types are fulfilled, and there will the Drama find its unities maintained, and its end embrace its beginning by reproducing it in a richer meaning. It is this unity that begins the universal mission. The dawn precedes it. But the unity is an idea, it is not a man ; it is divine, it is not human ; but it incorporates itself with the human. It becomes a part of every man who receives it, and adds the Divinity to his humanity. It is a faith in the co-operation of all men and all things with God on a graduated scale of worth, and it becomes a power in every one who apprehends it and makes him a "partaker of the Divine Nature," by which he co-operates with God in the government of the world on the Divine principle, which he then begins to understand and appreciate. And so soon as this union of the human and the Divine Nature takes place, the evil that we now deplore in the world begins to disappear ; for it arises solely from the conflict of the two principles of Absolutism and Liberty thwarting each other, and aiming at incompatible objects.

Were the principle of this primordial unity admitted, the Church would be united at once, and yet the variety remain and even be beautifully multiplied ; but it would be organised on a principle of law or organic order, not on a principle of ceremony or faith. The ceremonial Law of Moses was not the Rock. It has disappeared. His

moral Law has maintained its authority throughout all ages. Moral Law is therefore superior to Ceremonial Law. Faith is not a law of order, because it is invisible ; it belongs therefore to the invisible Church—the Gentile Church—the disruptive or dividuallising Church. It is for the Divine, and not for the human, tribunal of order, because it may be counterfeited by hypocrisy. But good morals and good manners cannot be counterfeited by hypocrisy ; or, even if they were, the Law would be perfectly satisfied with the appearance, for its jurisdiction extends not beyond the outward behaviour. No visible Church can be founded on any other rock than this. It is the old rock of Sinai, of which the Decalogue, or two united Pentalogues, is the type through all ages. The invisible Church is founded on faith ; and this is the Gentile Christian Church, which never can be visibly united for want of a *visible* unitary principle at its basis. But then it can be united with the visible principle of the Mosaic economy, and longs to be morally united with it ; for that principle is the male principle of which the Christian faith is the feminine counterpart. The two missions of Moses and Christ are complementary and correlative missions ; the one for the visible, the other for the invisible, world ; the one for society, the other for the individual ; the one is unitary, the other is diversified for ever. So that in the latter days, when the Drama is revealing

the principle of its construction, and realising the idea of its ultimate purpose, the Scriptures represent the regenerated earth as singing the song of Moses and Christ in union ; the song of Law that regenerates a people, and the song of Faith that regenerates the individual. And both these are male and absolute principles in their own sphere, and each is feminine to the other in its own opposite sphere ; for nothing can be more absolute than the moral law in the visible sphere ; and nothing can be more absolute than faith in the invisible sphere, for it is the inward life of the moral man. Yet each is a sphere of liberty in relation to the other ; for the law cannot exercise jurisdiction over invisible faith, nor can private faith interfere with the public jurisdiction of law ; and men may be elevated by faith above the sphere of law, and corrected by law amid the doubts and vicissitudes of faith. Each belongs to a separate polarity ; but the sphere of order is the sphere of law. Consequently the Jews have no articles of faith, no creed ; and the Gospel has no law, but only a faith ; for the faith is its radiating centre ; and if it has borrowed a part of the law in order to help it to organise a visible community, it is not because the law forms a part of itself, but because it is weak, like woman, in social organisation, without it ; there being no other principle of organisation, in the visible world, but Law, the limitary circumference to a radiating liberty. This law the sects have borrowed each as they

deemed expedient ; but law is so far from being a fundamental principle of the Gospel, that a large portion of Christians have in all ages existed who, under the name of Antinomians, have resisted all interference of law with the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free ; and throughout the whole of Scotland, and amongst Dissenters in England, a legal and moral preacher is regarded as a trimmer, a man of the world, a philosopher, a pagan, or almost anything but a Christian. Nor are they altogether wrong in this respect. But they do not perceive the full truth of the question ; for, though an invisible Church may do without the law, a visible Church is paralytic without it, as law belongs to all visible order and organisation, and is the very rock that it rests upon. This the Roman Church felt instinctively when it gave birth to its Canon Law ; but, like the *abrogated* law of Moses, it was also ceremonial ; and, like a ceremonial law, it may also be abrogated. And this the other Churches have also felt instinctively, and none more than the Antinomians themselves, who have hedged themselves round with the circumference of law, whilst they profess to be free from it.

It is the Law that makes Israel. Wherever the Divine Moral Law is, and wherever it is united with faith in its Divinity, and revered and obeyed by the conscience as the rule of life, there is Israel, the unitary people restored and gathered, the lost ones found, the scattered ones collected—the one

Church and the one Temple.* This is the people to whom all the promises were made. They were not made to the Gentiles and the divisional, disruptive nations. Search, and see if you can find a promise to any but the one united and at last universal and sole nation. It is impossible. God could not make a promise to antagonistic nations. To Israel only the promises are made. The Gentiles become one with it by the Common Faith and the Common Law, and to those who are not collected into this unitary and universal nation there is nothing left in nature but strife and contention for ever.

Now, can the sword restore and gather this people? Can a financial law realise the idea of popular unity? Can parliamentary legislation do it? Can a creed, or a series of articles, or confession of Faith do it? They have had a long opportunity of doing so if they are by nature qualified for the office. But it is morally impossible. They have their own respective missions, but

* Hence the Fifth Act of the Divine Drama is Deutero-nomical, which means reviving the law. The names of the Five Books of the Pentateuch are beautifully characteristic of the Five Acts of the Divine Drama. We could not find better names to distinguish them. They are arranged in this order:—Genesis, the beginning, and bondage in old Egypt; Exodus, the deliverance, or Liberty; Leviticus, the Priesthood; Numbers, the Political Agitation for Liberty from the organised Priesthood; Deuteronomy, the Law renewed. These names, of the most remote antiquity, contain the history of the world in a nutshell. It is a wonderful series of only five words. The reader must have remarked the frequent use we have made of its nomenclature.

this is not the mission of one of them, but of the Law of Divine Order to which an unarticled Faith in Universal Providence gives living birth in man; and this Law will grow and ramify in every mind from the central idea, the unfettered faith, whenever it is planted.

By an unfettered faith, we mean a common faith in Universal Providence, not expressed in the form of a creed—an invisible, undefined and quickening spirit-point, radiating through the whole sphere of being. It is a faith which embraces every thing as part of the Divine plan, but admits the graduation of all things on a scale of greater and lesser degrees of divinity and value. From this proceeds the Common Law of Order as the outbirth and regulating principle. Any attempt to fetter this common faith by scholastic formulæ destroys its universality and spirituality and occasions controversy and schism. It is then no longer a common but an articulated faith. There is no formal creed in the Bible. A pure, and common or universal faith, is a spirit without body, parts or terms, like the Divine Being who is its object; and therefore it is not the logical foundation of a structure, but its quickening spirit—that is, a spiritual, not a formal foundation. Law may be expressed in terms, and is, therefore, the true formal basis—the body of which faith is the spirit. But when the radix of the law is a common or unarticled faith, there is the central principle of unity as well as of growth and develop-

ment for social organisation. With this social organisation articulated faith has no right to interfere. It is a sphere of hypocrisy; for a man may feign to believe an article which he does not believe, and it is also a sphere of controversy and strife. It is therefore unfit for a radix of Catholic organisation. It is only for a coterie or sect, and is the real mother of sectarianism and infidelity. The unarticled faith is the mother of the common law of peace and order and the quickening spirit of the age to come—Charity is the soul of it. Faith is primary, as the quickening spirit; Charity is primary, as the reconciling spirit; Law is primary, as the organising spirit; and with these three all doctrine is innocent, and communion has free scope and ample encouragement for all good offices.

So be not alarmed: we are not about to bring out a system, a scheme, or a plan; we have none to bring, and if we had one we should not produce it, for plans and systems of human contrivance make men dishonest. As men subscribe to creeds which they do not believe, and treacherously poison the flock which they feed with their own heresy, or belie their own consciences, under the necessity imposed upon them by law of remaining behind their convictions; so creeds, and forms, and rubrics, that dictate to posterity a rule that must not be violated, are merely the spiders' webs, that the great flies break through and the little flies are caught in. We deal in no such articles; for we

regard them as prisons to be opened and fetters to be broken, impediments to the free and charitable use of human reason, without which moral legislation is bad, and its administration worse. But with charity derived from the study of the Divine Law of Government, and free from Sectarian bias, Universal Faith will discover Universal Law, and Nature will reveal her most precious and recondite secrets, and the wayfaring man, though a fool, will not err in the path which will then be manifest, as the highway of order, of life and progress.

The unity has always been a sacred idea. Its one Temple for God and the people in Judea is a sublime fact, and the universalism of Greece in theology was the Mother of Art. The unity of Rome has been productive of genius and taste, and their subservience to the culture and improvement of the æsthetic feelings. The rich productions of the pencil and the chisel are, in Catholic lands, elevated to the service of the public at large. The Catholic Temple is also the Temple of God and the people; and in every unitary system or era this idea will be more or less realised. It has been lost amongst Protestants, whose wealthy princes, after pillaging the churches and the monasteries, appropriated all tasteful works of art for themselves, to decorate their dining-rooms and drawing-rooms; whilst the Protestant House of God is a cold brick and plaster wall, with a colder stone floor to stand, and a deal board to sit, upon. "Shall I dwell in a

house of cedar," said King David, "when the Ark of God dwelleth in a tent?" It was the desire of his heart to make a rich Divine Palace for God and the nation, and every unitary system thinks of this as a primordial idea. But the divisional system does not; and therefore when its evening comes, the commercial companies begin to take the start of it, and to erect magnificent temples of the people without the idea of God, and even threaten to open them on Sunday, for divisional and anarchal worship of Nature! What does this mean, but the people pressing on towards this palatial unity of art and taste of which it is the spirit of Protestantism to deprive them? It is a Catholic spirit, not Roman, but unitary—the profane dawn of the coming day. The sun will rise upon it and sanctify it. It is not a movement that will be stopped: it is the popular aspect of the Temple of God and His children, that will yet be built throughout Christendom; in which the works of Nature will not only be studied, but sanctified, and by which individual pride and selfishness in raising magnificent edifices, and collecting splendid works of art for private vanity, will be put to shame, and genius will once more arise to gladden the world, clothed with religious dignity and rapture, never yet attained in any previous era of the world's history. Nothing, however, can sanctify grandeur but the unitary Catholic idea; and without this it will

run to licentiousness and incorrigible depravity. For sectarianism has lost its hold upon the popular mind ; and if no other religious idea supply the place of that which is lost, it is but a Temple of Sunday strife at best which the united opulence of commercial enterprise in The Isles can erect.

This is but a festive idea. There is a greater beyond it. But it is only the idea of God and the People, the Absolute and the Free. It is the final idea of the Drama. It ends as it began, with the rock and the sand ; but the sand is converted into nutritive soil by the cement of a common faith. We can go no farther, without going into a system of moral and sanitary reformation and educational culture, which we mean to avoid ; for without the unitary faith all these things can only be so imperfectly realised, that we leave them entirely in the hands of those who are doing their best amid the present miscellaneous and conflicting agencies of society. Such attempts we rejoice to see ; but we feel their ultimate impossibility without the unarticled faith, which is the true germ of the age to come, and is of more real practical utility than all the gold of Australia, and the collective genius of all the civil engineers and the sanitary physicians of the age we live in. Men must have eyes before they can see ; and this common faith, or the common eyesight, we not only believe to be possible, but a coming certainty, like the common vision of the Lamp of Day. It

is as sure as sunrise, and the dawn of it appears ; but the exact moment of its rising no man can tell. He can only say that a day is approaching. They who go to the tops of the mountains and watch the East, may see more of the light than they who live unconcerned in the valleys, or sleep in their chambers with closed shutters ; but all who look out at the glowing firmament may see the signs and be convinced of the rapid increase of light, and the certainty of a coming sunshine. And in that sunshine the stars go out, Sectarianism dies, Communion lives in a Common Law and a Common Faith, by Liberty diversified, by Charity reconciled.

The End is a double unity, for a double unity is more perfect than a single unity ; and this double unity will express itself in a Divine maternity, as well as a Divine paternity. The paternity begins the Drama ; the full manifestation of the maternity completes it. Man was made with woman in him ; his creation was completed by the evolution of woman from him. As on earth, so in Heaven : the Divine maternity is an indispensable correlative of the Divine paternity ; and though we do not presume to give the name of Nature, or Wisdom, or any other name to it, yet there can be no doubt, from the progress of all improvement towards the manifestation of the Laws of Nature, that, in the more full and free understanding of these laws, and obedience to them, the advent of the Divine maternity is per-

ceived, and will at last be accomplished ; and thus the Drama sums itself up in a male and female unity, involving the complete solution of all the questions left unsolved by the male unity, of which it is said, "it is not good," for the double unity is better ; and there can be no double unity without a double sexuality, beginning with the Supreme, and radiating as from a centre throughout the whole sphere of creation and providence. The Jew had no idea of this. His unity is a single one. The double unity is the last theological idea expressed in the Christian's Bible. Both are true ; but the one is the germ, the other is the fulness in God and Nature, in man and woman, in Law and Liberty.

Epilogue.

WE have now finished our task ; but before closing the book, we have a few desultory observations to make.

Having given merely an outline of the Divine Drama, we have massed and grouped our ideas artistically, not historically. The massing and the grouping are ours ; the subject-matter is not. A thousand other artists might represent it differently ; but none could represent it naturally and truly who did not represent it as a great five-act Drama, progressing gradually from the limited to the unlimited—from the particular to the universal.

Some pious persons may say, "Why not have taken the fivefold series of the Prophet Daniel, so well known to Divines and Commentators ?" We answer, Because it is a different idea altogether. The Prophet Daniel's series is "The Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman and Messianic." It is very evident at once that this is not the Drama of Memorial Civilisation ; for neither the Babylonians nor the Persians have incorporated their literature, if ever they had any, with ours.

And moreover, in this dramatic series, Assyria and Egypt, primordial nations as well as Babylonia, have no place, and Jews are entirely left out, although the Jews have not only incorporated their literature and theology, and much of their national spirit, with Western Civilisation, but may, with little fear of intelligent contradiction, be said to have laid the foundation of it. Daniel's Drama is the Drama of the five great Empires, four beasts and a man ; evil represented by four and good by one, the fingers and the thumb. The idea is perfectly analogous to that of the Drama of Civilisation ; but the realisation is different, and does not introduce the Jewish mission amongst the representatives of imperfection. Call it better or worse, higher or lower, all that we insist upon is merely this : that it is a different realisation of the Dramatic idea, and does not belong exclusively to memorial civilisation, but includes the immemorial Babylonian and Persian along with the memorial Greek and Roman, excluding the Jews entirely, and very indefinitely alluding to the modern Western nations ; whilst all the four are merely represented as combative and furious beasts, without any reference to intellectual and æsthetic attainments. It is correct—correct in its own typical and special sense ; but like every type, and especially every Old Testament type, admitting of a better realisation of the idea than itself.

Babylonia or Assyria and Egypt were primor-

dial nations, the sand and the plain of the primitive world. They are the old world that preceded the great movement of the Rocks. In them the individual tyrant was the Law, as in Russian primitive ocean plains to this day. Law as a principle begins its history with the Rock of Sinai, escaping Eastward from the sand and the mud of the Delta of Egypt. And even before the great movement of logical reasoning upon law as a principle originated with Jewish Rabbinism, the Jewish nation had to go to Babylon, and come out thence Westward, as from another Egypt. In doing so, it osculates with both Hemispheres on either side of the great Desert. That old world of immemorial civilisation was the matrix out of which Law, as a Divine principle (from Egypt), and Law as a logical development (from Babylon), escaped, and commenced their career in the Jewish mission, which is therefore the first recorded mission.

The five great missions of the universal body are beautifully analogous to the five senses of the individual body. The hearing and its limited mission, and the sight with its extensive and universal mission, characterise the two extremes. The audible word was given to Israel, confined within the echoing limits of the mountains of Palestine. The written word (that is, its universal distribution), is given to the Isles with unlimited circulation. These two are the beginning and the end, the

limited and the unlimited. Feeling belongs to Rome, as the Catholic or universal systematic sense, the great organiser. Smell, or metaphysical taste, belongs to Greece, and the Grecian nose is, perhaps on that very account, distinguished, in social parlance and public estimation, as the model of perfection. Taste, or physical refinement and discrimination, characterises France as the gastronomical and fashion-leading nation of modern times. We know no better representatives of the five senses of the human body than these five nations of the Divine Drama, which represents the universal or collective body of the civilised man.

The names of the five books of the Pentateuch of Moses we regard as the most remarkable provisions in the records of literature. Who gave these names we know not; but it was not Moses. They are not Hebrew, but Greek names. They seem to be derived from the Septuagint, or Greek Bible. But they characterise the books, and the five acts of the Divine Drama could not be better designated than by the names of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.

The five hills of Jerusalem also—four of them described by Josephus, the fifth enclosed afterwards—are dramatical analogies of remarkable fitness—curious coincidences, if coincidences they are. The *Orbis Romanus* is full of such; but the man who cannot see Divine adaptation in the construction of a human frame, is not likely to see it

in geographical arrangement. It is a wonderful *Chance*, however, that makes eyes, ears, and limbs, mountains and islands, so admirably, and arranges them so artistically; and as *Chance* has begun and continued to work so very intelligently, there is good reason for believing that it will continue to do so with like success. It matters not, therefore, to us, whether it be chance or not, so long as it is a skilful chance, and a chance to be relied on for art and for wisdom.

The geographical construction of the Mediterranean world, also, is so admirably adapted for a fivefold Dramatic Series, that a combination of the most skilful theatrical management and civil engineering talent would find it no easy matter to suggest an improvement. We have little doubt that any such proposed amendment would only demonstrate the ignorance of its author. The three lakes of Huleh or Merom, Tiberias and Asphaltites, the Jordan series in Palestine, are beautiful models of the progressively increasing seas of the trilogical form of the Divine Drama (Asphaltites or Dead Sea, Mediterranean Sea, and the Ocean); and as the third has a double character, being an inland sea, and therefore both a sea (for it is salt) and a lake, the prolongation of the series, by means of the Mediterranean and the Ocean, completes the fivefold series, as if done to order.

We might, if so disposed, have gone deeper into analogies; but we are satisfied with giving a general outline, to prepare the mind of the public

for further details. For, unless the outline is appreciated and accepted, the minuter details and the colouring are absurd. This outline we hope we have succeeded in sketching so intelligibly as to satisfy the reader that it is a genuine sketch from Nature, and not a mere invention of ours. No man acquainted with history and geography can call it fanciful; and those who are best acquainted with the laws of Nature hitherto discovered, cannot fail to perceive its perfect affinity with that divine plan of successive development, not immediate completeness, which is now allowed to be the mode of Divine operation in all the works of creation and Providence.

It is a continuous growth from a sandy desert to a fruitful plain—from a barren rock to a productive soil—from a rainless climate to a showery land—from a dead sea to a living ocean—from a small salt and inland or limited sea to the great and the unlimited Atlantic. Judea had the little, exclusive sea, and the south-east coast of the Mediterranean. Greece had the south-eastern half of the Mediterranean. Rome had the whole of the Mediterranean. The Gentile nations had the Mediterranean in part, and the Atlantic in part. The Isles have the ocean, and they rule the main. It is a grand procession of advancing power and knowledge, and there is no retreat; for, where decline is apparent, it is now evidently seen to promote the progress north-westward. On ocean's broad waves civilisation is now preparing to uni-

versalise her mind, in order that her hand may be enabled to grasp the globe. The idea precedes its own realisation. There is no universal Empire, or Catholic unity, without the previous ideal apprehension of its principle.

That part of the subject which is divine is unsailable by all but the foolhardy. Our own artistic part of the work is a legitimate subject for severe criticism. We have already begun that criticism by judging it before it is issued to the public; and even in passing it through the ordeal of our own tribunal, we have discovered numerous faults, which we should now be glad to correct. But we have more than once made imperfection less perfect by attempting to improve our original manuscript. We suppose it is the destiny of authors to make mistakes, in order to prove their humanity; for, if it is human to err, it must be inhuman not to err. Homer himself nodded, and doubtless introduced unintentional blunders into his own epics. No wonder if men who live under cloudier skies should nod frequently, and commit numerous oversights.

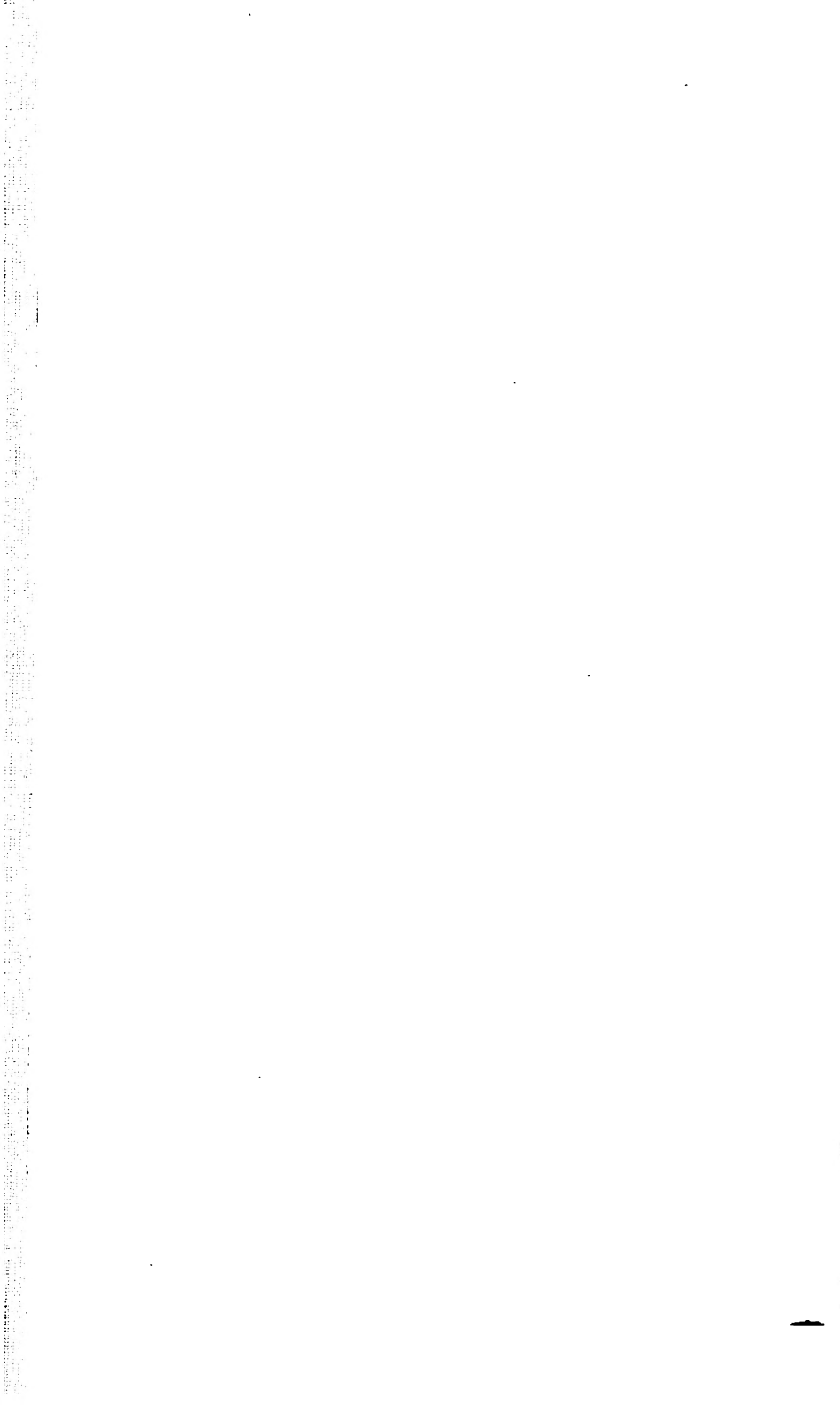
We have represented the word Czar as Russian for Cæsar, which it is not; for the Slavonians call Cæsar Kessar. In this we were misled by learned authorities, who, we are told, are etymologically wrong. We are profoundly ignorant of the subject, but we have still some lingering suspicions, for which we cannot find authority, that the resemblance of the two words (though Czar is Polish, and Tzar is Russian) is accepted as auspicious, and

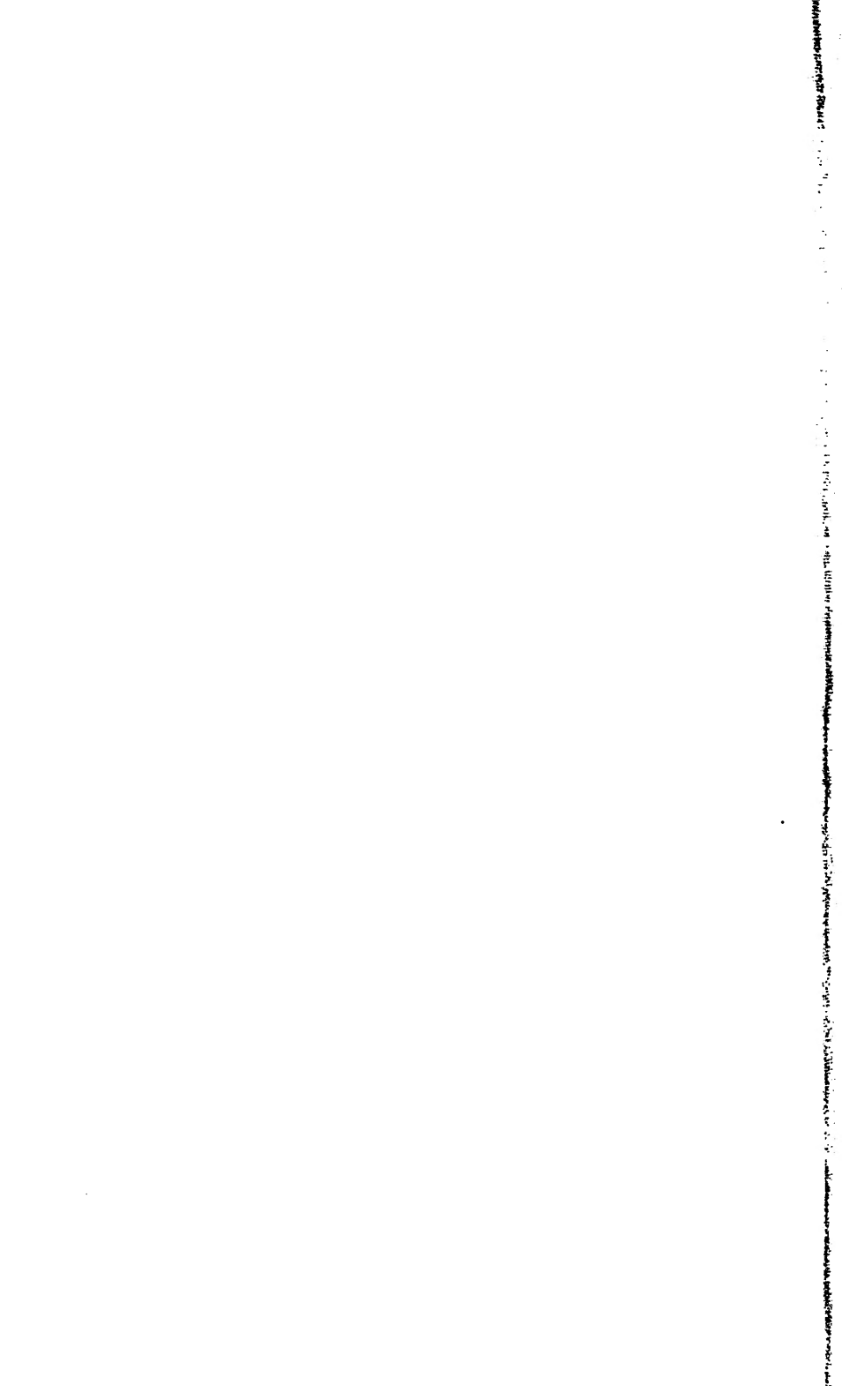
even the name of Sebastopol, or the City of Augustus, indicates hope as well as claim.

In our general reviews of each of the Acts we fear we have cramped the subject and overlooked so much, that, were we not to mention the suspicion, a cursory reader might be apt to seek in these imperfect summaries a short and bird's-eye view of the whole and be disappointed.

We might make a long list of such faults, all self-discovered, for which we crave no indulgence, for we do not believe in human perfection except in the sense of imperfection; humanity being more perfect in a fallible than it possibly could be in an infallible state. What a misery it would be to think that in writing or drawing, or in playing music, you could not possibly make a mistake! Where, then, would be the stimulus to exertion? Where the gratification of having accomplished a work with few or small errors? It is this errable nature which is man's proper nature. We pity the Pope, if he really is infallible in every sense of the word. For what merit is there in inhumanity? We are more sure, therefore, of our humanity in perceiving our faults than in not perceiving them, and if our critics discover a few more, or even a host of them, they will never prove our inhumanity by their exposure, and that is a comfort.







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